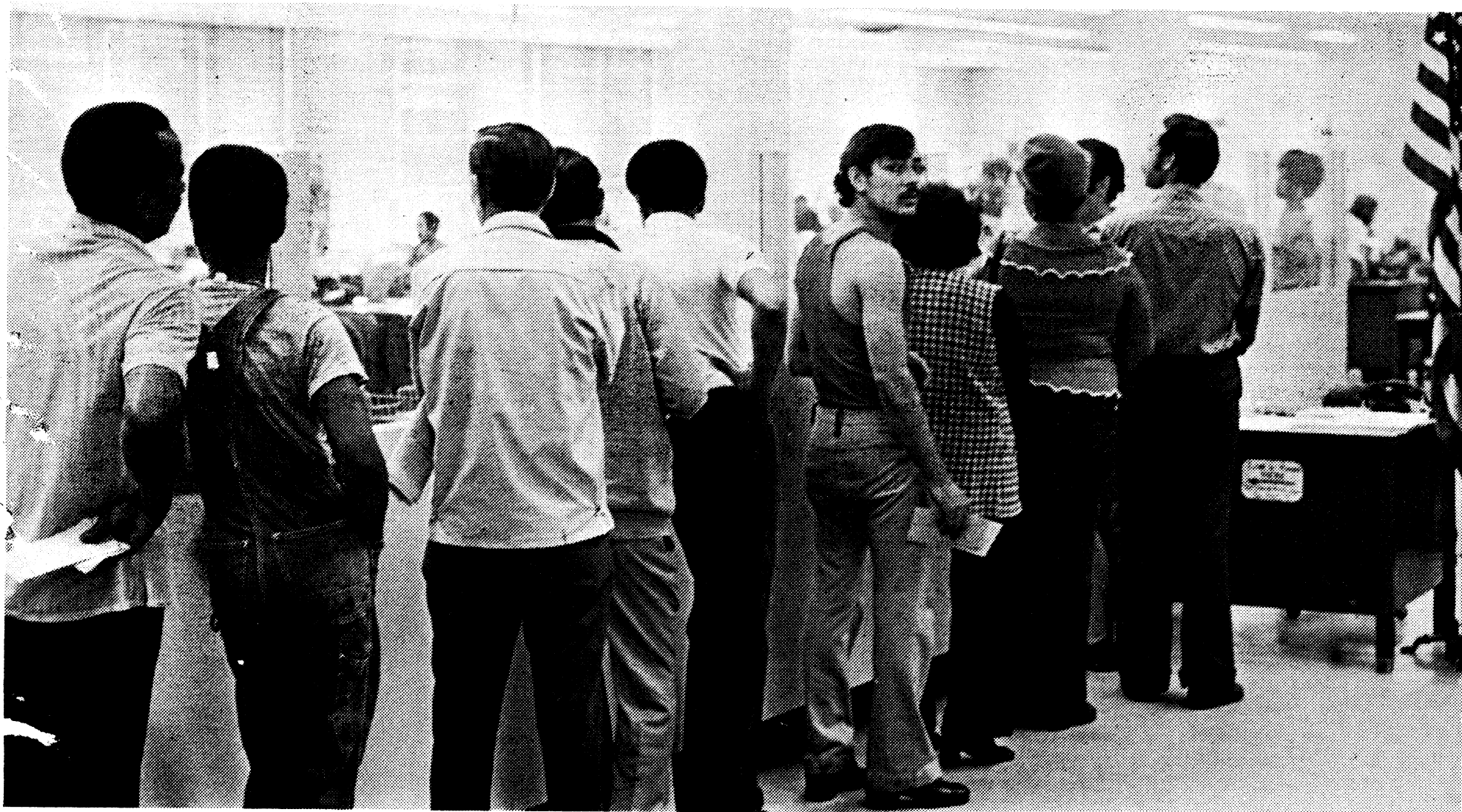


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Socialist answer to unemployment



Militant/Norman Oliver

Brooklyn workers line up to seek jobs. Official unemployment rate is now 5.2 percent. For Socialist Workers Party program to fight unemployment, see page 4.



May Day, Lisbon. Antiwar sentiment is widespread in Portuguese army.

Portuguese troops in Africa: 'Bring us home!'

—See World Outlook section

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YOU CAN'T TRUST THE CAPITALIST PRESS: The New York Post of June 10 carried the following Associated Press item: "A measure extending the right of prisoners to vote in elections was signed today by Gov. Wilson." That's all it had to say.

However, the truth of the matter is a lot different than this AP dispatch leads one to believe. The measure that New York Governor Malcolm Wilson signed into law applies only to prisoners who have not yet been convicted of any crime.

All convicted inmates are still denied this basic democratic right.

CIVIL LIBERTIES SUIT: The Socialist Labor Party in New Jersey filed suit May 31 against the borough of Wallington and its chief of police. The suit asks the court to throw out a 1973 ordinance that requires members of political parties and candidates to register with the police and carry registration cards before engaging in any political activities in the borough. This restriction applies to obtaining signatures on nominating petitions and distributing political literature.

The SLP suit against this undemocratic ordinance was prepared by the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey.

Veterans to march on Washington, D.C.

By RICH ROBOHM

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Veterans from across the country will be gathering here during the first week of July to protest the plight of ex-GIs.

The American Veterans Movement (AVM) is organizing for what they term the Second American Veterans' Bonus March, to take place July 4.

The AVM marchers plan to leave Malcolm X Park here at 12 noon on July 4 and march to Lafayette Square, in front of the White House. The march will be led by a contingent of disabled vets in wheelchairs. The demonstration has gotten the endorsement of traditional veterans organizations in the Washington, D.C., area and of some prominent individuals, such as Congressman Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) and Joan Baez.

Ron Kovic, a national coordinator of AVM, told The Militant, "We will march on Washington as our grandfathers and fathers did in 1932 and build an encampment in front of the White House until each and every one of our demands are met and until the national veterans crisis is ended."

The AVM plans to establish bivouacs in Lafayette Square and on the Ellipse—surrounding the White House with their tents.

Also planning actions in Washington, D.C., during the first week of July is the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). VVAW actions are scheduled during the week at the Veterans Administration headquarters, the Military Court of Appeals, the Capitol building, and other sites.

STRAWBERRY STRIKE: A Ventura County judge has upheld an injunction restricting picketing of striking strawberry pickers, mostly Chicanos, in Oxnard, Calif. But the strike, which began May 24, remains 80 percent effective nonetheless, according to United Farm Workers organizers.

The UFW estimates that growers have suffered a severe financial loss because of the strike. But the growers refuse to sign a union contract, hoping to break the strike through the use of scab labor and the courts.

A preliminary injunction covering 18 of Ventura county's 23 strawberry ranches was issued limiting picketing to 50 people at each farm with no more than two people every 50 feet. This injunction followed a temporary restraining order, which had placed similar restrictions on the UFW.

During hearings on the preliminary injunction, the UFW was accused of burning down buildings belonging to the growers. Evidence submitted by the UFW, however, showed that the growers had set the fires themselves and blamed it on the farm workers.

The judge ruled in favor of the growers.

UFW lawyers will be taking legal action to end the growers' harassment of picket lines. The growers have been driving noisy tractors between the workers and the picket lines, as well as playing blaring music to prevent the strikers from talking to the workers in the field.

NEW YORK MEETING FOR ROSENBERGS: Carnegie Hall's 2,800 seats were filled June 17 for a program commemorating the deaths of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed June 19, 1953, on the frame-up charge of conspiracy to pass the "secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviet Union.

Sponsored by the National Committee to Re-open the Rosenberg Case, the June 17 meeting announced plans to fight for full disclosure of government records on the Rosenbergs and for a new hearing in the case. Speakers included Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of the Rosenbergs; Morton Sobell, who was convicted with the Rosenbergs and served more than 18 years in prison; Attica inmate Frank "Big Black" Smith; and Dr. Emily Alman, acting cochairwoman of the new committee. Alman read to the audience two government documents that provide new evidence of perjury on the part of prosecution witnesses at the trial in 1951.

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ARIZONA STRIKE: Militant correspondent Betsy McDonald in Tucson, Ariz., writes that the first unauthorized strike in more than 20 years at the Magma Copper Company near Tucson was broken June 13.

The strike began when an entire shift working at the smelter walked off the job because two of their co-workers were fired. Striking workers persuaded more than 1,000 workers on the morning shift not to go to work.

The striking pickets were able to turn away two-thirds of the afternoon shift before they were intimidated into standing clear of the entrances to the company property by a temporary restraining order. The order cited the no-strike articles of the United Steelworkers contract, which had been negotiated in 1971 without rank-and-file approval. The USW officials joined with the company in labeling the strike "an illegal and unauthorized work stoppage."

Hundreds of strikers decided to return to the smelter entrance before the graveyard shift in defiance of the restraining order. Company police and riot-armed sheriff's deputies threatened to attack them unless they dispersed. It was at this point that the strike ended.

In the next two days about 100 workers were fired. Fifty-three of these are members of the USW.

The nonferrous Steelworkers contract expires July 1, and contract negotiations are about to get underway. The USW local at Magma voted that the reinstatement of all the dismissed workers be one of the union's demands.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Big ones go unchallenged

Kissinger accused of 'a little lie'

By CINDY JAQUITH

At his tearful news conference June 11, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger demanded that allegations concerning his role in wiretapping operations be dropped or he would resign. "I do not believe it is possible to conduct the foreign policy of the United States under these circumstances when the character and credibility of the secretary of state is at issue," he declared.

In response to a question he added: "It is impossible and incompatible with the dignity of the United States to have its senior official and to have its secretary of state under this sort of attack in the face of the dangers we confront and the risks that may have to be run and the opportunities that may have to be seized. This is a fact. This is not a threat."

The appeal worked—at least for the moment. Almost immediately the Democrats and Republicans in Congress and the bourgeois media began rallying support for Kissinger's "good moral character."

The majority of senators signed a resolution affirming his "integrity and veracity." Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) called him a "brilliant servant," and Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) expressed concern that Kissinger might be "working too hard."

Kissinger's 'integrity'

This bipartisan praise of Kissinger's "integrity" is particularly grotesque in light of the fact that he is one of the chief con artists of U.S. imperialism.

It was this "brilliant servant" who lied repeatedly to the American people about Vietnam and promised that "peace is at hand" just before Nixon launched the genocidal Christmas 1972 bombing of North Vietnam to force the Vietnamese into submission.

Compared to his big lies in the service of U.S. imperialist aims—for which he has received accolades from the capitalist press and even the Nobel Prize—the offenses being laid at his doorstep now seem quite trivial.

The allegations in the wiretap scandal, after all, show only that he lied in denying he had authorized "national security" wiretaps on high government officials and prominent reporters.



KISSINGER: Warns that Watergate threatens his ability to carry out U.S. imperialist aims.

Kissinger testified at his confirmation hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last fall that his role in the wiretapping was limited to supplying a few names as targets. Now, however, FBI documents apparently leaked from the House Judiciary Committee show he was a central figure in the wiretapping and spying operation.

Two memos written by J. Edgar Hoover on May 9, 1969, describe Kissinger's orders for information on officials suspected of leaking facts about the secret bombing of Cambodia. In one memo Hoover predicts, "they will destroy whoever did this if we can find him no matter where he is."

These memos form the basis of the perjury allegations against Kissinger.

Big lies

But this "little lie" is just one of the many that helps conceal the monstrous lies and deceptions used by the capitalists to cover up and justify their ruthless, imperialist policies around the world.

U.S. foreign policy is based on false-

hood: the lie that American GIs were fighting for "democracy" in Vietnam; the cover-up of the secret support given to counterrevolutionary forces by the CIA in Chile, Greece, and Iran; and one of the biggest lies, the myth that détente with the Soviet Union and China is the road to world peace.

One of Kissinger's chief assets in the eyes of the U.S. rulers is the role he has played in helping cement the détente with the ruling bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking, who with an eye to their own narrow, national interests have agreed to help keep the lid on revolutionary struggles around the world. Far from bringing world peace, however, the détente has merely emboldened the imperialists.

This U.S. foreign policy enjoys bipartisan support, which is why the Democrats and Republicans jointly came to Kissinger's defense. James Reston summed this up in his column in the June 19 *New York Times*:

"It is a tribute to the Nixon administration and to the Congress that despite all their differences over Watergate, inflation, jobs, prices, and taxes, they have not forgotten their common

responsibilities to the larger questions of world order.

"They may and do differ about many specific aspects of these questions—how much money we should keep pouring into Vietnam, how many troops America should keep in Europe, how much we should compromise with Moscow on the control of nuclear arms, etc.—but on working for peace in the Middle East, unity and partnership in Europe, and the development of a new world order in the fields of monetary and trade reform, the larger interests have prevailed over the personal, legal and political national controversies."

It was these "larger interests" that pushed so many capitalist politicians into the "defend Kissinger" campaign. They had no concern about his "integrity" or his "veracity." They just wanted to make sure he retained the credibility necessary to keep doing his job for U.S. imperialism.

As the *New York Times* explained in an editorial June 12, "The issues of basic constitutional rights certainly require a thorough airing. But until such an investigation is concluded—and it cannot be carried out in a hurry or under pressure from any source—the national interest requires that the Secretary of State be encouraged to continue the peacemaking efforts that stand as the brightest achievements of the Nixon Administration."

Impeachment

In the meantime, the House Judiciary Committee is quietly doing its part to whittle down the list of possible impeachment charges against Nixon. According to the June 17 *New York Post*, "Dozens of allegations announced as under investigation last March have been dropped without any evidence even being presented, and many others have been given only a passing glance."

Among the charges apparently slated for the wastebasket is Nixon's secret bombing of Cambodia. "The legality of the secret bombing . . . is still questioned by some members," the *Post* reported, "but a majority appears convinced it is not an impeachable offense."

Saxbe calls Hoover spy plans 'improper'

Attorney General William Saxbe recently announced that he has assigned a Justice Department committee to investigate "improper conduct" by the FBI in "counterintelligence" operations carried out under J. Edgar Hoover.

According to the June 17 *Christian Science Monitor*, Saxbe admitted that "various practices were brought up there . . . that were just not right." And he referred to the FBI's "active measures to stop the violence on campus and the racist activities, and what [Hoover] considered Communist activities."

"Asked if the operation involved 'improper conduct,' Mr. Saxbe replied 'I'm afraid so.'"

The *Monitor's* account ended by saying that "Justice Department sources familiar with the issue have said there is no evidence that the attorneys general in office at the time knew of Mr. Hoover's project." The fact of the matter, however, is just the opposite.

Ramsey Clark, for example, who served as attorney general under Lyndon Johnson, not only knew what Hoover was up to, but in 1967 ordered the FBI to intensify its "counterintelligence" attacks on the Black movement.

Clark is currently a candidate for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate from New York. He is emphasizing his "record" as a civil libertarian and has even become a sponsor of efforts to force a halt to government surveillance of the left, such as the campaign of the Political Rights Defense Fund. He has repeatedly insisted he knew nothing about any moves by the FBI during his tenure to step up attacks on Black and radical groups.

But a memo from Clark to Hoover dated Sept. 14, 1967, recently submitted by the Justice Department to the House Internal Security Committee, casts the former attorney general in a different light. The memo deals

with stepping up spying on Blacks in response to the wave of ghetto rebellions in the 1960s.

"In view of the seriousness of the riot activity across the country," Clark wrote, "it is most important that you use the maximum available resources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group of whatever size, effectiveness or affiliation to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity."

"Moreover," the memo continued, "sources of informants in black nationalist organizations, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and other less publicized groups should be developed and expanded to determine the size and purpose of these groups and their relationship to other groups."

"Improper conduct" by attorneys general seems to be the norm, not

the exception. But it's going to take a lot more than a phony "investigation" by the likes of Saxbe to uncover the full record and history of secret-police operations directed by the Justice Department against individuals and groups who have been placed on an official "enemies list."



HOOVER: Ordered by Ramsey Clark to step up counterintelligence against Black movement.

The socialist program

How the labor movement can fight

By Maceo Dixon

Today working people are the victims of a double-barreled economic assault. At the same time that inflation is worsening with no end in sight, rising unemployment is slashing the standard of living of millions of people in this country.

The Labor Department reports that in May the unemployment rate climbed to 5.2 percent of the labor force, or 4.7 million people. This is equivalent to having the entire populations of Chicago, Atlanta, and San Francisco out of work simultaneously.

Nixon proclaimed last month that "the worst is behind us," but just the opposite is true: the worst is yet to come. Unemployment is expected to keep rising all through this year and



Maceo Dixon is cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee.

to reach an official rate of 6 percent or higher.

Moreover, as Nixon well knows, the government is currently following a "tight-money" policy that is intended to force corporations to cut back production and lay off many thousands more workers.

For workers with jobs, inflation has cut real buying power by 5.6 percent in the last year. For the jobless, the price squeeze can mean impoverishment.

One grim indication of this was recently noted by syndicated columnist Sylvia Porter. She wrote that "pet food sales are zooming, and in low-income areas sales are now far exceeding the amounts which could be consumed by their animal populations. By one recent estimate, one-third of the dog and cat food being bought in ghettos is consumed by people."

The hardest hit

The statistic for overall unemployment disguises the depression-level conditions facing Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. The Labor Department reports that the unemployment rate for Black workers is 9.5 percent, more than twice as high as for whites.

For all teen-agers, unemployment stands at 15.8 percent; for Black youth, the figure soars to 33.5 percent.

Another group feeling the sting of the government's recessionary policies

is Vietnam-era veterans. Vets aged 20 to 24 have an unemployment rate of 10.3 percent.

Women workers, too, are hit disproportionately hard. The unemployment rate for adult women is 50 percent higher than for adult men.

But the true picture of joblessness is far worse than even these government statistics show. The Labor Department figures fail to include hundreds of thousands of workers who have become discouraged and stopped actively looking for jobs. Nor do they take account of those who want to work full time but must settle for a part-time job.

'High expectations'?

Spokesmen for the capitalist class, Democrats and Republicans alike, are launching a propaganda campaign to sell the absurd notion that such a level of unemployment is the necessary and natural state of affairs.

They have the gall to blame the current economic mess on the "high expectations" of working people, who are the victims of inflation and unemployment. This was the theme of a major speech in Congress June 10 by Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Mills was especially unhappy about "a belief . . . that there will not be a depression or serious recession, or any other interruption of what has come to

be regarded as the normal annual increases in income and living standards."

To reverse "this expectation of ever-increasing income levels," the influential Democrat called for continued recessionary policies and renewed wage controls.

A similar note was sounded by Treasury Secretary William Simon in an interview published in the June 17 *U.S. News & World Report*. Simon remarked that "almost everybody agrees that a goal of no more than 4 percent unemployment is unreasonable in view of the change in the labor force over the last 20 years."

This government official thinks it is "reasonable" to always have more than 3.6 million workers unable to find jobs!

The "change in the labor force" refers mainly to the greater number of women looking for work. To the Democratic and Republican party politicians, a lack of jobs for these women doesn't really count—they were probably just working for "pin money."

This sexist view is contrary to reality. Today, holding a job is an economic necessity not only for the one-third of all working women who are the sole breadwinners for themselves and their children, but also for the many families that must depend on getting two paychecks to make ends meet.

Nevertheless, on the basis of such

Brooklyn jobless get the runaround but little work

By NORMAN OLIVER

Thousands of people trek through the offices of the New York State Department of Labor looking for work.

The waiting rooms of the placement offices are filled with people whose faces show their gloomy outlook for the future. Being ordered from one building to the next, from one office to the next, from one employer to the next, and still not finding a job can be a frustrating and demoralizing experience. Many people just give up.

One of the people recently waiting at the unemployment office on Schermerhorn Street in Brooklyn was a young Black woman, Joanne Webb. She used to work as a seamstress in the garment district but has been unemployed for two years.

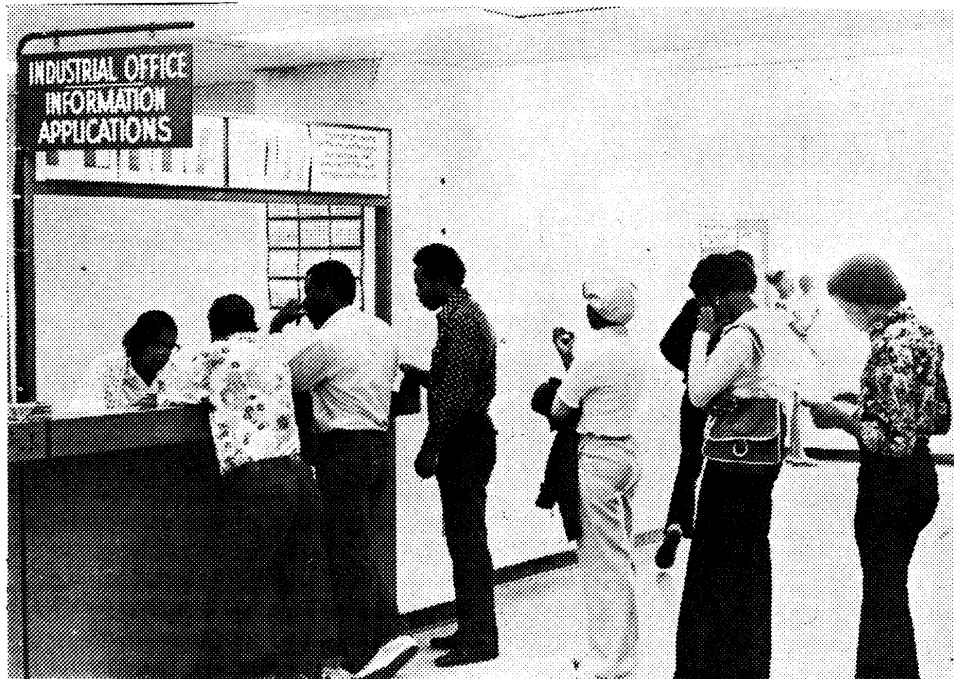
Webb has been sent to a lot of employers during the last two years, but usually the reception has been, "We don't really need you."

"It got to the point," says Webb, "where now I always demand the telephone number of the employer so I can call first. If they don't have any work, then I come back here and demand they refer me to a place that does."

Even when employers did hire Webb it was only temporarily. This was true for everyone this reporter talked to. Unemployed workers were hired during peak periods in an industry and then laid off when things slowed down. And they were paid lower wages than if they had found the job independently of the state agency.

An even cheaper source of labor for employers is the welfare recipients, who are told they must work to receive their checks. Elizabeth Bragg finds herself in that situation.

A mother of four, Bragg was at the unemployment office to refuse for the fourth time to work for her welfare check.



Militant/Norman Oliver

"They never have any jobs for unemployed people but always do for welfare recipients—doesn't matter if you don't want the job," Bragg said.

"What choice do you have?" she continued. "Either you work for nothing, steal, or become a prostitute. They force people to do it. They don't care how you survive."

Asked what she thought should be done, she responded, "We need training. I mean, what are we? Dogs or something? We need training for good jobs."

Elizabeth Bragg's last job sent her to the hospital. She was doing piecework in a sweatshop in the garment district.

"I had to press 100 dozen pieces a day," she said, "and only got \$106.99 [a week] for it. But the Puerto Rican sister next to me was getting \$90 for the same work."

The Puerto Rican sister next to her

in the unemployment office, Mayra De Leon, faced many of the same problems.

De Leon had been a pieceworker on blouses, but was laid off seven months ago. She said that she had taken home, on the average, \$90 a week.

Now, De Leon finds she's working for less and only at temporary jobs. Even if the work was steady, the wages are barely enough for her to get by on. However, with the state finding her only temporary jobs, this is next to impossible.

"We get hired when they need extra help," De Leon commented, "but after that they let us go. They should be getting us steady jobs."

"I can't work sometimes and sometimes not. I don't have anyone taking care of me. I need money all the time to support myself," De Leon said.

Speaking about another problem

she encountered in looking for steady work, De Leon said, "Sometimes it's harder to get hired because I speak only Spanish."

In another placement office in the building Warren Smith, a young Black man who had been unemployed for two months, was making his first visit to the unemployment agency. He first tried finding work by himself, since friends had told him about the kind of low-paying jobs the state was finding for them. "But that was hopeless," Smith said.

Most of the people in the placement offices were young. Except for the industrial placement office, the waiting rooms were 70 percent occupied by women. Blacks and Puerto Ricans made up about half of those looking for jobs.

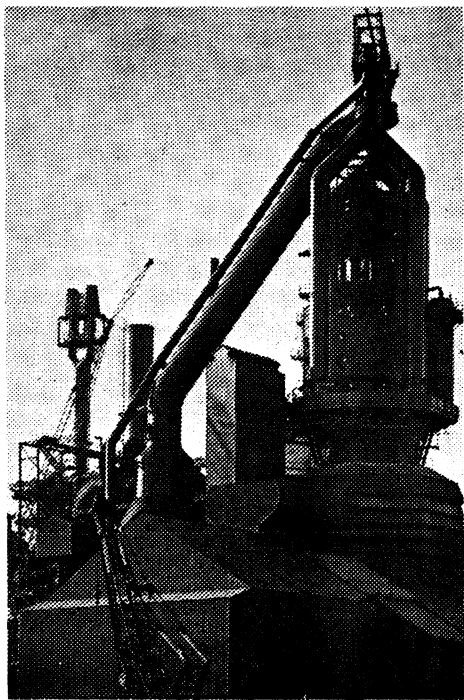
Another group that comprises a significant number of the unemployed are veterans like Jean Leon. Leon, who is a Trinidadian, was trained in the Air Force as a jet mechanic. But now he can't get that kind of work.

"It's a sin and a shame," he told *The Militant*. "First, they tell you to enlist and learn important skills. Then when you get out of the service you can't find work in the skill because you don't have 'outside' experience."

Leon, who's been out of the service for a year, has stopped looking for a job as a jet mechanic. Instead, he's going to school at the City University of New York. Leon said he goes to the placement center to find temporary jobs to get by on while in school.

Millions of Webbs, Braggs, De Leons, and Smiths in unemployment offices across the country are getting angry. One day that anger will find an organized form as more and more workers realize what Elizabeth Bragg said: "If we just got together, we could end this mess."

unemployment, win jobs for all



Computerized blast furnace. Automation should be boon to workers, but under capitalism it means higher unemployment.

twisted logic, government and Wall Street economists are beginning to redefine "full employment" as 5 percent unemployment. Previously they had decreed there was "full employment" if 4 percent of the labor force was unemployed.

In the last 20 years—that is, since the end of the Korean war—there have been five recessions, including the present one. Official unemployment has averaged 4 percent or less *only during four years: 1966 to 1969*, at the height of the Vietnam war. This could only be achieved by putting hundreds of thousands of young workers in uniform and shipping them off to war, and by sparking an industrial boom through massive government deficit spending for war.

Reserve army of labor

Unemployment that seems "reasonable" to capitalist politicians is totally irrational from the standpoint of human needs. It entails both the misery of the jobless workers and the colossal waste of productive labor lost by society as a whole.

Unemployment results from the anarchy of capitalist production, in which each company makes its own decisions—solely on the basis of profit considerations—regarding whether to expand and hire more workers, lay off workers, move a plant to another area, or close down altogether.

More than that, the capitalist system *requires* and continually reproduces a "reserve army of labor": a mass of unemployed workers who can

be pitted against those with jobs in order to hold wages down and enforce discipline on the job.

"You'd better think twice about demanding higher pay," the boss says. "There are plenty of people out there who would be happy to have your job. And if you get out of line I'll replace you."

The "reserve army" is a whole layer of lesser-skilled workers who can only find employment at the peak of an economic upswing. Even then they are generally relegated to the most menial and lowest-paid jobs. And they are the first to be fired when corporations prepare for slowdown.

Racism is the cutting edge of this weapon of the capitalists for dividing and weakening the labor movement. Discrimination in education, training, hiring, and advancement ensures that Blacks and other minorities are in the "reserve army" far out of proportion to their numbers in the population.

Racism is fostered among white workers to keep them from fighting together with Black workers to overcome this situation. A particularly disgraceful example is the way construction union officials have worked hand in glove with the construction bosses to freeze Blacks out of the better-paid jobs in the building trades.

Such policies are shortsighted and self-defeating. Only a united labor movement will be able to overcome the twin scourges of inflation and unemployment. Unity will be secured when the unions champion the cause of the oppressed nationalities. To compensate for the past criminal exclusion of minority workers, a program of preferential hiring is urgently required.

What hope for relief do the Democrats and Republicans have to offer the unemployed? Nixon's program is openly for more unemployment: recessionary measures to slow down the economy, hoping that the threat of job insecurity will dampen workers' militancy.

Nixon's policy has *bipartisan support*, as *Business Week* wryly noted June 8 in an item titled "Congress has no answers." "Congressional Democrats would like to steal the ball from the Administration on economic policy," the magazine wrote, "but they can't figure out how."

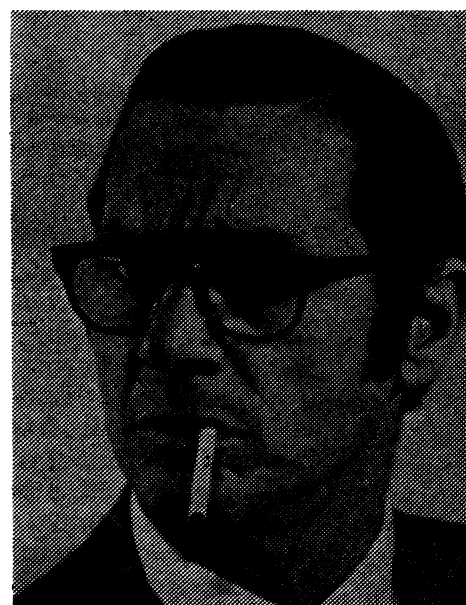
The most the Democratic "friends of labor" are proposing is minor improvements in unemployment benefits, or perhaps a small tax reduction. Three-fourths of this is empty talk, promises that will be filed in the wastebasket after the November elections. Even if enacted, these measures would

at best be stopgap reforms that would have little effect on the growing legions of jobless workers.

The capitalist politicians can offer no solutions—only halfhearted palliatives—to the fundamental problems of unemployment, because both periodic recessions and growing "structural" unemployment due to automation are inescapable features of capitalism itself.

Automation

In their constant drive for profits, the capitalists are always striving to increase productivity: the amount each worker produces in a given time. This takes the forms of speedup in the plants and the use of the latest technology to *replace workers with machines*.



TREASURY SECRETARY SIMON: Thinks it's 'unreasonable' to have less than 3.6 million unemployed.

Two basic production industries show how this works. From 1960 to 1970, coal production in the U.S. *increased* from 434 million tons to 613 million tons, while the number of production workers employed in coal mining *decreased* from 164,600 to 125,700.

In the same decade, production of raw steel *increased* from 99.3 million tons to 131.5 million tons, while the number of production workers in blast furnaces and basic steel *decreased* from 528,400 to 500,600.

Entire trades of skilled workers face the threat of being automated into extinction—conscripted into the army of the unemployed.

Nothing better illustrates the irrationality of this outmoded system: technological advances, which should make possible a better life for all, instead become a weapon used against the working class.

In a planned economy democratically administered by a workers government, automation would be used to steadily reduce the necessary working time for everyone. Masses of people, freed from continual drudgery, would for the first time have a chance to develop their creative potential as human beings.

Sliding scale of hours

Trade unions can take a step in this direction of a rationally organized economy right now. To protect their members from inflation, more and more unions are demanding a sliding scale of wages: an escalator clause to automatically raise wages as the cost of living goes up. In the same way, unemployment can be countered with a *sliding scale of hours*.

The trade unions should launch a campaign to reduce the hours of work—with no loss of weekly pay—to pro-

vide jobs for all. In this way, the available work would be divided among all who want jobs, instead of some working long hours while others cannot find jobs at all.

At the same time, the labor movement could demand that a vast program of public works be initiated to provide hundreds of thousands of jobs building schools, housing, hospitals, mass transportation facilities, and other socially useful projects. All work on such projects should be paid at union-scale wages.

If for any reason some workers are unable to find employment, they should receive compensation equal to union wages for the full duration of unemployment.

A campaign around such demands could win mass support, uniting the unemployed and workers with jobs, the unorganized as well as union members, in a fight for jobs for all.

In this way the labor movement would show that it alone has the answers to the problems of society, problems the capitalists and their government have proved totally incapable of resolving.

If labor really had any "friends" in Congress, they could long ago have acted, for example, to amend the wages and hours laws to institute a 30-hour workweek for 40-hours pay. But the Democrats and Republicans are all political representatives of the employing class.

The time is long overdue for the unions to stop supporting the capitalist parties and instead launch an independent political party of labor. This would be an immense step forward in defending workers from the present attacks on our standard of living. It would also be a step toward a workers government that would put the welfare of the majority ahead of the profits of a tiny, wealthy elite.

2,800 apply for 40 jobs

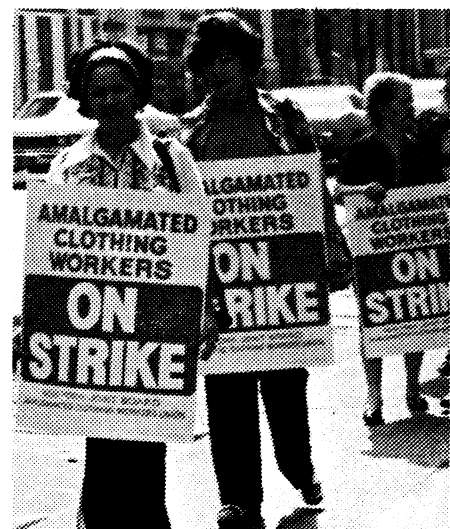
"Pressed on by inflation, industrial layoffs and a shortage of skilled job openings, workers are flocking to the unskilled labor market. Employers who used to gratefully hire any able body that walked in the door now find as many as 100 people bidding for each opening as warehouse loader or hotel janitor.

"In Los Angeles, for example, 2,800 people have applied this year for 40 available jobs as city meter readers, quadruple the number who applied for this many jobs five years ago. Nearly 1,600 bid for animal-tending jobs at the Los Angeles city zoo, almost 10 times the applicant total in 1968. . . .

"Or consider Quick Labor Inc., a Los Angeles firm that supplies day labor for warehouse loading, ditch-digging and other brawny work. 'Normally, we worked off skid row, hiring guys who had drinking problems,' says owner Harold McNair. Nowadays, 200 men are lined up on the sidewalk by eight each morning, and most are 'better-caliber people' laid off from higher-paying jobs in industry, he says. The day-labor pays only \$2 an hour, and the line forms anew every morning, but as a laid-off warehouse worker formerly making \$3.87 an hour told Mr. McNair, 'This is a salvation.'"

— *Wall Street Journal*, June 5

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Washington presses Middle East offensive

By DAVE FRANKEL

Commenting with characteristic humility on his week-long pilgrimage to the Arab East, Richard Nixon asserted that his visit "could well be remembered centuries from now as one of those great turning points which affect mankind for the better."

Undoubtedly one of the most important of the supposed benefits accruing to humanity as a result of the trip—at least in Nixon's view—was the boost it gave him on the evening news programs. However, the banquets and motorcades in the Mideast limelight were more than just another maneuver aimed at leaving Watergate behind. They were a visible symbol of the high-powered political and economic offensive launched by Washington during the Middle East war last October.

In Cairo, Nixon was greeted by what *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John Cooley described as "a forest of American flags." Workers were given time off to swell the crowds, and the government printed placards saying "You Have Our Confidence," and "We Trust Nixon."

Not to be outdone, the Israeli regime spent more than \$60,000 for flags alone.

In Damascus, as was expected, the restoration of diplomatic relations between Syria and the United States was announced.

Nuclear aid

By far the biggest stir during Nixon's trip was sparked by his announcement that the U.S. would provide Egypt with a 600-megawatt nuclear reactor and the uranium to fuel it.

A similar agreement was made with Israel, which already has two nuclear reactors in operation. David Salisbury reported in the June 17 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Experts feel the Israelis have enough plutonium stockpiled to make at least 10 atomic bombs."

The real motivation for the agreement with Egypt, which is subject to congressional veto, was explained by the staunchly pro-Israel editors of the *New York Times* on June 17: "For the United States to withhold power reactors, now that Cairo has decided to move in this direction," they wrote, "would not prevent Egypt from getting them from other sources. United States aid could offer the most effective safeguard against plutonium diversion to nuclear arms."

Furthermore, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger assured the Israeli regime that the reactors would not be delivered for six or eight years. Thus, under the guise of providing Egypt with nuclear technology, Washington is actually working to ensure the continuation of the Israeli nuclear monopoly in the Mideast.

What Israel got

Under the cover of the announcement that it would provide nuclear technology to Cairo, and amid speculation that it was preparing to pressure Israel to make concessions in the upcoming Geneva conference on the Middle East, Washington is moving to pump unheard of amounts of arms into the Zionist state.

Since Israel's formation in 1948, Washington has provided it with \$3.6-billion in military aid and another \$1.6-billion in economic aid. An additional grant of \$350-million is now pending.

But *Newsweek* reported June 24 that

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin "was expected to ask for—and get—a U.S. pledge of some \$5.2 billion in arms over the next four to five years." (Emphasis added.)

In his statement in Jerusalem Nixon named no figures, but emphasized that the supply of U.S. arms to Israel will be of a "continuing and long-term nature." This, he explained, is "essential in order to prevent further hostilities and to maintain conditions conducive to progress toward peace."

As in the past, "peace" for the imperialists means their unchallenged hegemony, along with that of their foremost clients. What has changed in the Arab East is not Washington's policy, but the readiness of the Arab

intent to take billions out. Their purpose is not to help Egypt, but to make a profit. Any industrial projects they undertake will be designed to take advantage of low wages and favorable tax breaks being offered by the Egyptian regime. They will not industrialize Egypt any more than \$1-billion of American investment had industrialized Cuba before the revolution there.

The foreign policy implications of the U.S. economic activity in the Middle East were spelled out in a dispatch from Cairo by Jim Hoagland in the June 10 *Washington Post*. "Defense pacts are not acceptable in this era," one of Cairo's keenest diplomatic analysts said. "But the United States

shell fire in the Jordan civil war of 'black September,' 1970, but since rebuilt—were flying upside down."

Washington Post reporter Jim Hoagland quoted a leaflet distributed in workers' housing districts in Damascus that asked: "Was all the war, all the blood that was shed under American bombs, all the dead we suffered so that Nixon and the prophet of imperialism, Kissinger, could visit Damascus and give us \$100-million?"

"We must foil the imperialist plan and the governments who compromise with it."

The fear with which the Arab governments view the Palestinian movement was evident in an interview given to *Christian Science Monitor* writ-



Nixon and Sadat being cheered in Cairo. Illusions in role of U.S. have been encouraged by detente.

regimes to capitulate to it.

The attitude of the Israelis was typified by a June 3 announcement that four new farming settlements and an urban center will be established on the occupied Golan Heights in the course of a year. The *Jerusalem Post* reported the following day that a number of new industrial villages are also being planned.

The economic front

Nixon's tumultuous reception in Egypt was due to two illusions: the idea that U.S. aid and investment will help to industrialize Egypt and improve the standard of living of the population there; and the belief that Washington will help regain all the territory seized by Israel in 1967 and secure a settlement acceptable to the Palestinians.

Although Nixon announced no major new economic deals on his trip, the imperialist penetration of Egypt is continuing apace. *Business Week* reported May 11, "Foreign governments, companies, and individuals are stumbling over one another in their rush to pour hundreds of millions of dollars into industrial projects ranging from bean growing to truck production. And this is just the tip of the pyramid. 'Egypt is going to take off in a boom,' predicts Ross W. Craig, president of Amoco Egypt Oil Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (Indiana)."

But the boom is not going to be for the Egyptian workers and peasants. When the imperialists pour in hundreds of millions of dollars, they

is clearly forging a chain of economic relationships across the Middle East to link moderate states to the Americans and pull them away completely from the Russians.

"Added up, the economic cooperation and aid agreements will be a modern equivalent of the Baghdad Pact," he added. . . . The Baghdad Pact was the NATO of the Middle East during the cold war.

'Remember the Palestinians'

The rapprochement of the Arab regimes with Washington will only result in further economic exploitation of the Arab people. It also poses a long-range threat to the security of the Soviet Union. But the immediate victims are the Palestinians. The basis for the Geneva negotiations is recognition of the Israeli state, thereby negating the demand of the Palestinians for the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine in which both Jews and Arabs would live.

In the June 16 *New York Times*, Terence Smith described a photo that "showed a jubilant Richard Nixon and Anwar el-Sadat riding into Cairo at the head of a triumphal motorcade. In the background, easily readable even in the fuzzy wirephoto, was a handlettered banner reading: 'Remember the Palestinians.'"

In Amman the Palestinians also made their protest. "Whether deliberately or not," wrote John Cooley in the June 18 *Christian Science Monitor*, "some of the American flags displayed in the Al-Wahdat refugee camp—nearly totally destroyed by

er Dana Adams Schmidt by "a leading Egyptian official who did not want to be identified."

This official, after complaining in the June 17 *Monitor* that the Palestinians "are a catalyst among the radical Left," continued:

"Right now the moderates are dominant everywhere. But if there is no Geneva conference, or if the conference fails, the Palestinians will become a threat, with their so-called resistance organizations, to all moderate regimes. So you see why we turn so eagerly to the Americans."

"What we have begun is catching on in Damascus. And even Iraq is giving big contracts to American companies. So you see why we are talking about a new, American era in the Middle East."

Role of detente

Against this background, the editorial in the June 14 *Daily World*, the newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, takes on its full savor.

"A new era has dawned in the Middle East," these astute analysts announce. "Imperialist domination has been swept away forever, although it persists in its efforts to hold on and even strengthen its slipping grip."

These apologists for the Kremlin bureaucracy attempt to explain the reactionary results of detente by simply denying their existence. Conrad Komorowski insists in the June 15 *Daily World*, "As a matter of fact, far from having been lessened, Soviet prestige and influence in the Middle East has been enhanced in the recent

Continued on page 22

N.Y. women demand 'Free Dr. Morgentaler'

By LINDA JENNESS

NEW YORK — Chanting, "Free Dr. Morgentaler, Free our Canadian sisters," and "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide," 60 women picketed outside the Canadian consulate here June 14.

The women were protesting the most recent attempts by the Canadian government to railroad Dr. Henry Morgentaler to jail.

Morgentaler is a Montréal physician who has admittedly performed thousands of abortions and who is a determined fighter for the legalization of abortions in Canada. The Canadian government is determined to close his abortion clinic and put him in jail.

He was scheduled to be sentenced June 17 on the first of 13 abortion-related charges but the sentencing has been postponed until July 10. The maximum sentence for performing abortions in Canada is life imprisonment.

The lunch-hour picket line, sponsored by the National Organization for Women's Reproduction and Its Control Committee, was scheduled to coincide with protests in Canada organized by the Committees to Defend

Dr. Morgentaler.

A delegation of women delivered an open letter to Bruce Rankin, consul general at the Canadian consulate, while the picketers chanted outside.

The letter said, in part, "New York City women are today appalled that doctors such as Dr. Morgentaler are faced with the possibility of life imprisonment for performing medical services to women who request them. We regard such laws as an infringement on women's basic, and human, right to control our own bodies. . . . The Canadian government's prosecution of Dr. Morgentaler is in fact an attack on all women.

"We demand," the letter continued, "the release of Dr. Morgentaler, an end to the Canadian government's harassment of doctors who perform abortions, and an end to any laws which restrict a woman's most fundamental right to choose."

The letter was signed by representatives of several abortion rights organizations, including NOW, Catholics for a Free Choice, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, and the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws.

Rankin accepted the open letter in his office in front of reporters from the United Press International, *Canadian News*, *National Observer*, and a New York City radio station. Obviously embarrassed by the publicity the persecution of Morgentaler was receiving, Rankin assured the women in the delegation that he, personally, was against the restrictive abortion laws. He hastened to add, however, that "the law is the law and there's nothing I can do about it."

Dianne Feeley, coordinator of the NOW demonstration, noted, "Women in the U.S. at this moment are confronted with the right wing's attempts to undercut last year's Supreme Court decision." She said that the recent arrest of five Boston doctors on abortion-related charges is similar to the harassment Dr. Morgentaler faces.



Militant/Martha Harris
Picketing at Canadian consulate

N.Y. abortion law

The following is from a statement issued by Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, on the new abortion law signed June 15 by New York Governor Malcolm Wilson.

Governor Malcolm Wilson and the New York State Assembly have signed into effect a new law further limiting the right of women to abortion. The law requires that a woman be hospitalized for an abortion after the twelfth week of pregnancy and that a second physician be present for an abortion that occurs after the twentieth week. This new law restricts the rights women have had in New York state since the Supreme Court legalized abortion in January 1973.

Proponents of this law use phony arguments about protecting the health of women and fetuses that may be born alive to cover their real political motivation. Their real intention is to further limit the right of women to choose when and if to bear children.

New York's liberalized three-year-old abortion law has resulted in a significant decline in the number of maternal and infant deaths; in

the number of deaths from abortions; and in the number of women hospitalized as a result of illegal, botched abortions. The new restrictions are part of a campaign to return us to the barbarism of illegal, back-alley abortions.

Requiring women to enter a hospital for an abortion after 12 weeks will greatly increase the cost of those abortions. The requirement that a second doctor be present after 20 weeks—ostensibly to attend any live births that may occur—is meant to harass those physicians who perform abortions. It also adds to the scare tactics of the anti-abortion groups that claim abortion is murder. Moreover, the presence of a second physician will further drive up the cost.

As the June 17 *New York Times* editorial observed, such restrictions return us to a double standard, "under which the wealthy would continue to obtain abortions and the poor would be victimized."

I condemn this action on the part of the Democrats and Republicans, and call for the immediate repeal of the bill and all amendments that limit the right of women to abortion and contraception.

Chicago union women urge passage of ERA

By LYNN MASTERSON

CHICAGO—On June 8 Chicago union women held the first of three meetings required to establish an official chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The meeting was attended by 100 women from more than 20 unions.

The meeting was convened by Clara Day of the Teamsters, who was elected Midwest vice-president of CLUW at the founding convention in March, as well as by two of the three Illinois state conveners.

Day and the conveners outlined a statement in support of the Equal Rights Amendment to be delivered on behalf of union women at the ERA hearings held in Springfield, Ill., June 12. The statement reads, in part, "Union women believe that the Equal Rights Amendment should be ratified by the Illinois General Assembly because now there are an estimated 33 million women working or seeking work outside the home in the United States and our numbers are increasing. . . . The ERA is a symbol of commitment to equal opportunities for women and equal status for women. . . .

"Specifically it [the ERA] will:

"1. Ensure equal pay for equal work.

"2. Provide for equalization of fringe benefits for women and men.

"3. Extend truly protective legislation to all workers and eliminate laws that are purported to protect women but merely serve to limit the opportunities for women workers.

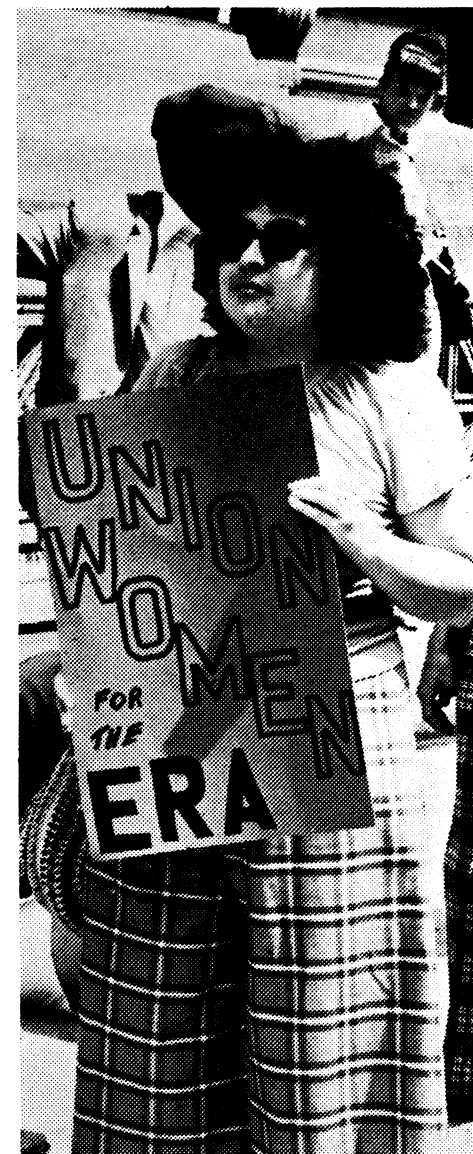
"4. It will provide the legal basis for eliminating existing discrimination based on sex in government, employment, and in education."

The morning session heard a panel discussion on sex discrimination and some of the recent gains made by women in union contracts. The main presentation was given by Judith Lonnquist, national legal vice-president of the National Organization for Women. Lonnquist reviewed recent court decisions that apply to women in the areas of pregnancy, benefits, and layoffs.

During the afternoon session the women decided to constitute them-

selves as the "Organizing Committee for CLUW" until they have been officially chartered. They established five work committees and elected a temporary steering committee to begin the work of reaching Illinois union women and involving them in CLUW activities.

In addition to outreach, education, fund raising, and strike support committees, the women set up a "Women's Committee committee." This committee will be responsible for helping women set up women's rights committees within their own unions.



Militant/Herman Kirsch
Union women helped to get the ERA passed in Ohio.

Denver CLUW holds statewide conference

By EILEEN PARKER

DENVER—Seventy women and men opened the statewide conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) here June 8 with the singing of union songs. The participants represented 13 unions. Also present were some women involved in organizing drives.

The conference agenda featured three speakers. Dr. Jeanne Stellman of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), and coauthor of *Work Is Dangerous to Your Health*, spoke on "Women and Health and Safety." She documented the minimal amount of concern and funds allocated for basic research by government agencies for the health and safety of working people. Women are particularly neglected because they are not recognized as a "legitimate" part of the work force and because the only occupational health problem attributed to women, Stellman said, is pregnancy!

Leslie Nader of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) spoke on child care. She pointed to the gains made by ACWA members in Baltimore and Chicago who have negotiated child-care facilities into their contracts. The ACWA child-care programs in those two cities currently cover 2,000 children.

Irene Chandler, United Farm Workers union, spoke on "Organizing, Strikes, and Boycotts." She emphasized the importance of women playing leadership roles in union boycotts.

Workshops were held on organizing the unorganized; affirmative action plans; legislative and political action; and women in their unions.

A special note of thanks was given by the conference to the Colorado Labor Council, Denver Area Labor Federation, OCAW, and the Colorado Federation of Teachers for their help in building the conference.

Wounded Knee judge backs prosecution

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—U.S. District Court Judge Fred Nichol has patted himself on the back so regularly for his conduct in the Wounded Knee trial, it's a wonder he hasn't wrenched his arm.

"I've leaned over backwards," he is often said to comment, suggesting he has given defendants every type of leeway on account of his big, liberal heart.

Though sometimes portrayed in the media as "honest and fair," Fred Nichol is neither. Five-and-a-half months into the frame-up trial of Indian leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means, Nichol has proved himself a willing collaborator in the government's prosecution.

Not that Nichol is a hangman's judge in the image of Julius Hoffman, the reactionary jurist who presided over the Chicago Seven "conspiracy" trial in 1969.

Nichol, on the contrary, conceals his noose, though he carries it just the same. He has several times lashed out at the government's attorneys and sided loudly if uneasily with defense counsel. But this writer contends that Nichol's machinations are merely the trappings of a bourgeois judge who must sometimes chide the government in order to lend legitimacy to a frame-up.

Nichol's record in the St. Paul courtroom speaks for itself.

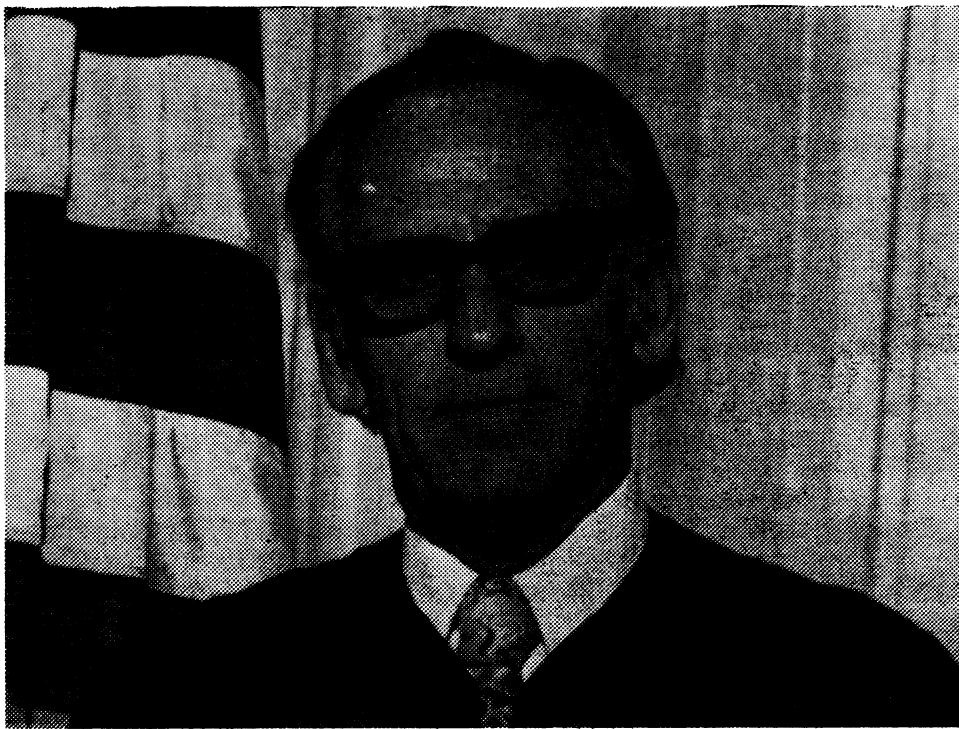
He has failed to dismiss the charges despite ample evidence of government misconduct and illegal wiretapping.

He in fact admitted the illegality of the FBI's monitoring of a telephone at Wounded Knee, but still has not urged that criminal action be taken against the government.

Instead, he has lined up with the prosecuting attorneys, opposing any testimony on broken Indian treaties. Nichol's assertion, like the government's, is that this is a trial of criminal charges against Indians. He has managed to divert questioning on the causes of the Wounded Knee seizure—the centuries of Indian oppression imposed by a white racist society.

Nichol continues to handle the government with kid gloves despite its failure to comply with a court order of October 1973 mandating the prosecution to turn over to the defendants "exculpatory" material—that which would be useful to the defense.

Many documents have not been turned over. Instead, defense attorneys have been getting a dribble of material, enough for the prosecution to maintain, however unconvincingly, that it is trying to comply with the order.



JUDGE NICHOL: Conceals noose, but carries it just the same

The irony of the October court order is that the defense cannot look at the federal documents and decide what it wants. The government decides what evidence that could be damaging to itself should be turned over to the defense.

That Nichol accepts this charade shows the extent to which he is a creature of the government he purports to treat impartially.

One of the most vicious aspects of the U.S. capitalist state is its secret-police apparatus—the FBI—which operates a network of undercover informers whose job it is to spy on dissident political groups in complete violation of all civil liberties, including provisions of the U.S. Constitution.

Undercover informers were rampant in and around the Wounded Knee seizure. This has become clear during the testimony and documented evidence that has surfaced in the course of the trial.

But time after time, Nichol has sided unequivocally with the informer system, by agreeing with the prosecutors, who have asked that certain government documents not be turned over to the defense because they contain the names of informers.

Nichol, in fact, has prevented the defense from seeing the names of any secret informers.

In effect, Nichol has put his stamp of approval on spying against the American Indian Movement.

"Leaning over backwards," Nichol asked the prosecution to check its informer files and assure him that none of the informers were part of the legal

defense group. The government checked its files and proudly announced to the judge that none of the informers were directly involved in the defense. Now who could possibly doubt the honesty of the government—that bastion of honesty?

In the courtroom, Nichol has saved his heaviest blasts for the defense and the defendants, whom he chastises, often in the most patronizing manner.

His attitude toward the defendants takes on racist connotations, seen subtly as when he refers to AIM leaders Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt as "the Bellecourt boys." And this is seen quite unsubtly by his patent refusal to permit the defense to deal in court with a key aspect of the Wounded Knee seizure—the struggle against racial oppression.

Defense efforts to introduce treaty rights in the Sioux Treaty of 1868 have been repeatedly shunted aside by the judge.

Nichol came down very sharply against the government only once—during the evidentiary hearing into wiretapping and government misconduct.

In his ruling, he bitterly attacked the FBI and had some razor-sharp criticism of the prosecution. He said he had come to the "brink" of dismissing the case.

Nonetheless, he did not dismiss the charges.

His ruling was reminiscent of liberal members of Congress during the Vietnam war, who stood on the floor of the House and Senate railing against U.S. involvement in the war,

then voting for more war appropriations.

Interestingly enough, the entire evidentiary hearing into government misconduct during March and April was conducted outside the hearing of the jury, which was sent home and directed not to watch the television news or read news stories on the trial. So the jury never did hear the damning story of government wiretapping and lies and never heard Judge Nichol attack the prosecution at the close of the hearing.

Nichol's history underlines his bias against the Indian cause.

He is a close pal of Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.).

McGovern has attacked the American Indian Movement in many speeches, accusing AIM of being "rip-off artists" whose demands are unjustifiable. During the 71-day seizure, he urged the Justice Department to consider moving in and crushing AIM by force. He has rightfully won the name George "Custer" McGovern, among Indian activists.

It was McGovern who got Nichol his appointment to the federal bench in 1964.

Nichol is highly critical of President Nixon, according to local news stories. But by embracing McGovern, an enemy of the Indian movement, Nichol only emphasizes his own prejudices.

Political trials are not decided solely in the courtroom. Mass public pressure can be a powerful factor and must continually be mobilized in behalf of the Wounded Knee defendants.

The exposure of illegal government activities against AIM through the efforts of defense attorneys could also blow this case apart.

A time could come when Nichol has no choice but to drop the charges.

Public sentiment in support of the Wounded Knee defendants is, in fact, the often invisible but critical factor in keeping Judge Nichol from maneuvering more sharply against the defense.

Nichol is on the defensive. The government itself is on the defensive, having been forced to expose some of its illegal activity during the trial.

The defense strategy is to keep the government on the defensive.

In the meantime, the trial could continue for months with Nichol, the system's obedient servant, continuing to present a facade of fairness.

Justice, however, requires more than some occasional liberal rhetoric from the bench. Justice comes in deeds, not words.

Banks and Means are innocent. They must go free.

USLA sets September Chile defense activities

Activists from eight chapters of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) met in New York City June 15 to plan activities for the summer and fall. Areas represented included New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and Minneapolis.

Mirta Vidal, USLA staff member, reported that repression in Chile has not abated and a continuing campaign in defense of the victims of the military junta is necessary. The success of recent USLA projects, such as the tour of former Swedish ambassador to Chile Harald Edelstam and the May 11 demonstrations, indicate that a broad spectrum of groups can be brought together in Chile protests.

Vidal proposed that USLA initiate a call for activities in as many cities as possible on or around Sept. 11—

the first anniversary of the right-wing coup in Chile—demanding the U.S. government cut off all aid to the junta and the release of the political prisoners.

"We think this date is an obvious time for groups to come together in joint activity. And we can be sure that both the international press and Pinochet will be watching closely to see what the response of the American people will be," Vidal stated.

USLA staff member Dolores Schaefer reported on a special campaign USLA has launched in defense of women political prisoners in Chile. A communiqué smuggled out of Chile documents maniacal sexual abuse of women incarcerated at two jails—El Buen Pastor and Tejas Verdes.

Schaefer urged USLA activists to publicize this information in their areas and enlist the endorsement of

prominent women. "This campaign has the potential of involving groups that have not been involved in Chile activities, especially feminist groups," Schaefer pointed out.

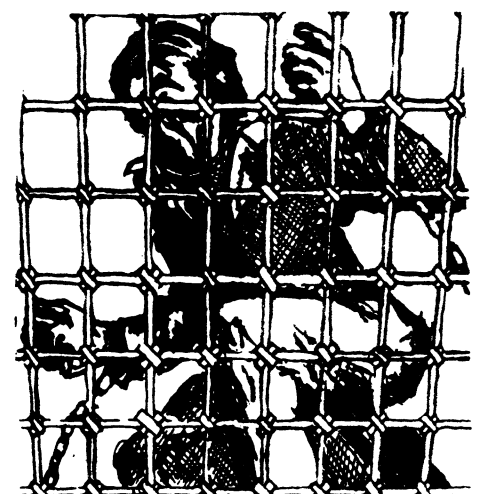
USLA chapters were also urged to carry out campaigns on a number of other fronts—defense of Haitian refugees in the United States; demanding that Dominican Republic President Joaquin Balaguer release political prisoners there; and protests around recent attacks on the workers movement in Argentina.

Participants also discussed fundraising activities and the *USLA Reporter*.

A representative of the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (CLA), Linda Blackwood, was a special guest at the meeting. Blackwood reported on CLA efforts in behalf of Chilean refu-

gees in Canada.

Mike Dover from the National Coordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile reported on the activities of his group and said it would discuss plans for Sept. 11 at their next meeting.



10,000 meet in Cow Palace

S.F. carpenters strike large contractors

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 10,000 carpenters jammed into the Cow Palace June 17 to hear a report from union officials on the status of negotiations for a new contract with the two major contractor associations—the Homebuilders and the Association of General Contractors (AGC).

The three-year contract covering 50,000 organized carpenters in Northern California expired June 15. The 10,000 carpenters at the meeting are members of union locals in the five Bay Area counties, the largest of the eight districts included in the 46-county Northern California bargaining unit.

The carpenters came to the meeting with the bitter experience of an unofficial but massive walkout last December. That strike was called to resist the collusion of the government wage-control board and the contractors in cutting wages won in the previous contract fight. Many realized this struggle had been lost because of the union officials' refusal to back the carpenters.

The strategy of the officials in this contract fight has become clear. They want to keep the carpenters working—without a contract—for Homebuilders and independent contractors willing to sign "interim agreements," while pulling other carpenters off AGC jobs. Officials declared that picketing would be organized only on those very few jobs where carpenters continue to work for the AGC.

The overwhelming majority of AGC jobs where the carpenters have walked off would not be picketed, thus allowing the other building trades to work for the AGC.

This demobilizing policy of the union officials, dividing the ranks of the carpenters themselves, is compounded by the fact that the contracts of the construction Teamsters, Labor-

ers, Operating Engineers, and Plasterers and Cement Masons with the AGC expired at the same time as the Carpenters'. As of June 18 the officials of these unions—with the agreement of the Carpenters officials—have their members working without a contract.

In order to maintain control of the Cow Palace meeting, the officials deliberately concealed their plan—giving the impression that no carpenters would work until the ratification vote on a settlement with the Homebuilders scheduled for June 25, and that all jobs would be picketed. While careful to explain their real strategy to the press out of the other side of their mouths, they only hinted at it during the meeting—just enough to leave thousands of carpenters confused about what they should do now.

Cries of "Not enough!" greeted the announcement of the proposed agreement with the Homebuilders for an immediate increase of \$1 an hour, an additional 25 cents in November, and 75 cents in fringes over one year. Many realized that this wage package, without an escalator clause, could not keep up with the current pace of inflation.

The carpenters were most upset, though, with the lack of any mention of improvement in working conditions in the contract, which would be binding for three years.

There was no mention of a change from time-and-a-half to double time for overtime, of a provision for job security to end arbitrary hiring and firing, of a coffee break, of union control of safety and speedup through a strong steward system and job site inspection by union business agents, and of elimination of the no-strike clause for enforcement of the agreement.

Although the officials had called the meeting to "inform" the members and not to take any votes, the carpenters left feeling that they had at least ex-



Militant/Steve Chainey

Pickets in last December's carpenters' strike protest denial of negotiated wage increase by Construction Industry Stabilization Committee.

pressed their desire that no one should work without a contract, and that all construction sites should be picketed and shut down.

They left their union halls this morning confused and demoralized on finding that carpenters were back to work for most contractors except for the AGC and that these jobs were not even being picketed.

The Northern California chapter of the AGC stands as a powerful force to drive down the living standard of all workers in the building trades. Unlike the Homebuilders and independents, who cannot afford to delay completion of their jobs because they operate on money borrowed at very high interest rates, the AGC can afford to hold out.

Owned for the most part by the Bank of America, other banks, insurance companies, and large corporations, these contractors have been able to develop a strategy of bleeding the

carpenters to force them to settle for less.

The carpenters who came to the Cow Palace showed that the union has the power to win the kind of contract they need, by first of all uniting carpenters behind a policy of picketing every single construction project in Northern California—Homebuilder, independent, and AGC.

All the other trades would be asked to respect the picket lines. The next logical step would be to form an alliance with other building-trades unions to strike together.

This strategy of mobilizing and uniting the membership of the carpenters and of all the building trades, rather than the officials' strategy of demobilizing and dividing the membership, is what is needed now to carry out an effective fight to win an adequate contract from the Homebuilders and the AGC.

Haitian activists explain plight of refugees

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

Recently I had the opportunity to interview two Haitian brothers who are active in the struggle to win asylum for the hundreds of Haitians who have fled to the U.S. to escape the repressive regime of Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

One of the brothers is an active member of KODDPA (initials in Creole for Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian people), and the other is not connected with any specific organization. They

asked that I call them simply Paul and Jean.

Jean said that at least 100 Haitian brothers still remain in prison in Miami. The work of KODDPA and other Haitian defense organizations has succeeded in winning the release from Miami jails of a group of women arrested with a recent contingent of refugees. "Now we must work all the harder and attract mass support to press the Immigration Service in Miami and the State Department to release the brothers as well," said Paul.

None have been granted asylum, however, and those released still face the threat of deportation.

I asked them to comment on the U.S. government rationalization that the Haitians came here for economic, not political, reasons, and therefore do not deserve asylum.

"Yes, that's the type of propaganda that is being pushed," said Paul. "But nobody can tell me Kissinger doesn't know that there is not such a big gap between economic and political issues."

"The question of Haitians is clearly a question of people escaping the Duvalier regime because it has not been able to provide them with jobs, security, housing, or education. So they are obviously leaving Haiti because of the bad political situation there."

"The reason they can't get jobs in Haiti is because the structure of the Haitian economy is so bad that the government has to be repressive." He noted that more than one million Haitians have left the country.

Jean added, "In proportion to the population, I don't think there's another land in the Western hemisphere where there are so many people living outside the country. And the situation in Haiti has deteriorated since Duvalier came to power."

This led me to my next question, which dealt with an article in the June 2 *New York Times* titled "Young Duvalier Relaxes Curbs." I asked if that

was their assessment.

"I don't agree," said Jean. "People might say that you don't see the direct militaristic type of government that used to exist under François Duvalier," Paul continued, "but what's happened is that you have the United States openly supporting the Haitian government. So what you have is a more sophisticated type of oppression."

"We've just learned from Haiti that recently there was a big wave of arrests again. Many of those arrested were not involved in politics; many were intellectuals."

I asked what type of response they had been receiving so far in their campaign for asylum for the refugees.

Jean emphasized the support they have received from the Black community, and added, "We have also been getting support from the Native Americans, and they have even offered us asylum on their territory. This is a great thing for the struggle, because the Native Americans' offer of asylum has put the U.S. government in a bad light."

"We are also very thankful to the brothers and sisters in Miami," said Paul. "We know that Black students there have come out and demonstrated against the repressive measures."

To aid this defense effort contact the Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees, 251 W. 80th St., New York, N.Y. 10024. Telephone: (212) 491-6580.



New York march in defense of Haitian refugees

Militant/Miguel Pendas

United actions

The new Portuguese regime headed by General Antonio Spínola is slowly trampling underfoot the hopes of the masses of Portugal for an end to the colonial wars in Africa.

Spínola's latest policy speech put off what *he* calls "self-determination" for the colonies to generations in the future.

Expressing the U. S. rulers' backing for Portuguese colonialism, President Nixon, at the end of his recent Mideast tour, met with Spínola in the Azores. Through payments for the U. S. military base on the Azores, and through other financial and political support, Washington shares responsibility for these brutal wars.

The vast majority of the Portuguese people want the wars to stop and the troops brought home. This was made clear on May Day, when millions poured into the streets rejoicing in the peace they thought was coming.

This majority opposition to the colonial wars is reflected among draftees in the Portuguese army and navy. Soldiers and sailors are demonstrating against the wars; some in Mozambique have refused to fight. In the World Outlook section of this week's *Militant* we reprint an appeal from soldiers in Guinea-Bissau, calling on the Portuguese people to demand "loudly enough to be heard" the immediate withdrawal of troops from Africa.

This appeal, and the determined resistance by the liberation fighters in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, should be answered with an international campaign of pressure on the Portuguese government to get out of Africa. Here in the United States, opponents of colonialism can have an important effect now by mobilizing in opposition to Portugal's wars and U. S. complicity with Portuguese imperialism.

The potential support for such actions was illustrated in New York, where a picket line demanding Portuguese withdrawal from Africa has been set for June 22. Joining in endorsement of the demonstration are the New York Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation Movements, American Committee on Africa, Pan African Student Organization in the Americas, Southern Africa Committee, Ethiopian Student Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, and the Socialist Workers Party, among others.

Such united actions, carried out throughout the country, could be an inspiration to both the Portuguese people and the rebel fighters in Africa.

The road to peace

Nothing could have better symbolized the real meaning of Richard Nixon's Middle East "peace" trip than the American-made bombs, delivered by American-made warplanes, that rained down on Lebanon June 18 and 19.

The Israeli attack was delayed until Nixon's "peace"-talking road show was over. But any doubts as to the actual perspective opened up by Washington's advances in the Arab East should be laid to rest by the reports that the Nixon administration is negotiating a four- to five-year arms deal with Israel totaling more than \$5-billion.

This is about equal to the total U.S. military and economic aid given to Israel over the past 26 years. It is the equivalent of more than \$1,500 in military hardware for every man, woman, and child in Israel. Needless to say, this particular deal is not based on the anticipation of a generation of peace.

Washington's program for a Middle East "settlement" is: 1) arm the Israeli colonial settler-state to the teeth; 2) suppress the Palestinian people's demands for justice and self-determination; 3) open up the Arab East to more intensified imperialist exploitation.

This program may bring some added profits to the coffers of U.S. business interests, but it will never bring peace to the Middle East. Moreover, as Washington's stake in the area increases, so does the possibility that it will choose to risk a major war—including the use of nuclear weapons—in defense of its economic and political hegemony.

The only road to peace in the Middle East is the abolition of the racist Israeli settler-state and the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine; the expulsion of imperialism from the entire region; the nationalization of its industries and resources under the control of the workers and peasants; and the establishment of a planned economy run on the basis of human needs rather than private profits.

From Denmark

We would like to thank you for sending us the issues of *The Militant* covering the Wounded Knee trials. I will, on the basis of your articles, write an article for the Danish papers. As more news reaches us, we will follow up on it in the Danish media.

Please continue sending whatever you publish in regard to the frame-up trials. We think that by getting *The Militant* we have a good opportunity to keep up our knowledge about things happening in the U.S. in general.

*International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
Copenhagen, Denmark*

Easy to read

I just read your May 31 issue, which I purchased in East Lansing. I found it very interesting and easy to read. I want a three-month introductory subscription and also five copies of the reprint from your March 22 issue on FBI memos on the Black movement.

The articles on Portugal and African students in Portugal were extremely interesting and educational for me.

*C.H.
Saginaw, Mich.*

Teatro Oficina

Teatro Oficina, one of the most prestigious theaters in Brazil, has recently suffered a number of violent attacks by the Brazilian government, ranging from kidnappings to libel and arrests.

The trouble started when a picture of Nixon in a prisoners uniform appeared on the cover of *EX*, a progressive magazine that deals with issues of interest to the theater.

EX was charged under the infamous Institutional Act Number 5, which among other things, makes it a crime to show disrespect for a government official of a friendly nation.

On April 3, Henrique Mala, an actor from Teatro Oficina, disappeared while attending a performance of the Bob Wilson Theater. Later it was discovered that Mala was kidnapped by an agent of the Department of Political and Social Order (DOPES). Mala was charged with allegedly selling copies of *EX* magazine at the theater.

The next government step was to attempt to destroy the whole theater and its participants. An undercover agent was sent into the theater and he arrested five individuals for alleged drug possession.

Still not satisfied, the government arrested, on undisclosed charges, Ze Celso Martínez Correa, the director of the theater and winner of the Nanci Festival prize.

Whether the government will continue to persecute the members of Teatro Oficina or be forced to stop this outrageous violation of human rights will depend on the amount of protest demonstrated by world public opinion.

*Catherine Siskron
Berkeley, Calif.*

Militant gets around-I

Please send the following person (a co-worker) a one-year sub to *The Militant*. He used to subscribe, gave his friend a gift subscription for Christmas, and his friend, in turn, gave another friend a gift sub. *The Militant* gets around.

*M.V.
Atlanta, Ga.*

Militant gets around-II

The *Atlanta Voice*, Georgia's largest Black newspaper, reprinted in its latest issue an article from *The Militant* on the FBI plot to crush the Black movement. The article, written by Baxter Smith, was the lead story in the *Voice*.

*J. A.
Atlanta, Ga.*

Trans-Amazon highway

Though socialists have nothing against building roads, the manner in which the trans-Amazon highway in northern Brazil is being constructed is cause for concern.

This road, which is being hailed by the government as Brazil's "moon probe," will be 3,497 miles long. The plan calls for clearing the forest for 60 miles on either side of the highway. Ostensibly this is to permit peasants to move into the area. But in reality the soil is too thin and the conditions too harsh for this type of development. The actual result will probably be huge cattle ranches owned by landlords in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

If this plan is carried out, the environmental consequences will be enormous. One-half the trees in the Amazon basin will be removed. Scientists are predicting the erosion of topsoil and climatic transformation.

But perhaps the most sinister consequence of this "development" will be the plight of the Brazilian Indian. The Indians, who numbered more than two million at the beginning of the century, have been systematically exterminated by the Brazilian government, and only number 80,000 today. The building of this road signals their complete annihilation. As construction proceeds, the Indians will be driven from their homeland into lands that can't support them. Those who survive will be subject to disease or the mercenary troops of the distant ranchers.

*Daniel Jelski
Chicago, Ill.*

Bloodsucking capitalists

It's a damn shame that practically everything, including eating, is a privilege in this so-called land of the free. I suppose that this lack of rights is a result of the bloodsucking capitalist scheme, which has enabled them to place or set a monetary value on everything, except air. They only pollute that!

*K.C.
Athens, Ohio*



J.B. Johnson

I've had the experience of reading one of your papers, *The Militant*, and came upon the article about J.B. Johnson, the youth from St. Louis who was arrested for a crime he did not commit (April 19 issue).

I would like to express my sympathy toward him and his family because I am a victim and was convicted on similar circumstantial evidence. I know of some of the stresses and strains he and his family are going through. And to the committee that is helping the family—right on!

A prisoner
Illinois

African liberation

Upon the request of the African Liberation Support Committee in Indianapolis, Mayor Richard Lugar proclaimed the month of May as African Appeals Month. Although we all realized that this is an election year and that Mayor Lugar's maneuver was to obtain Black votes for his bid for the U.S. Senate, his proclamation opened many doors for the committee.

Some agencies and service centers offered their entire services for our use. On May 19, a "Tribute to Malcolm X" was held. The ALSC, with the assistance of a local YMCA branch, had 24 hours of festivities to celebrate the birth date of this great Black leader. During the 24 hours hundreds of Black people participated in the celebration, which included a play, educationals, speeches, cultural events, and poetry. The activities culminated with a liberation march through the Black community in Indianapolis.

In addition to these actions, members of the local ALSC secured several speaking engagements in high schools, social clubs, and at community centers. On May 25 we chartered a bus to Washington, D.C., to participate in the national African Liberation Day march and rally.

Walter Baynard
Indianapolis, Ind.

Every bit helps

I've been reading *The Militant* and saw your announcement for the prisoner's fund.

Unfortunately, I am unemployed and my own funds are scarce, so I can send only \$5. I hope it helps.
D.G.

Cambridge, Mass.

[*The Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Rank-and-file movement in steel

This is the concluding part of a guest column by Bill Breihan, a member of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 3643 in St. Louis, about the rank-and-file steelworkers conference held in Chicago May 26-27.

A debate arose at the Chicago conference over the various lawsuits carried out by rank-and-file steelworkers against the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" between USWA President I.W. Abel and the steel companies. There were reports on the different legal actions already taken and others being planned. Attorneys for the District 31 Right to Strike Committee and Rank and File Team (RAFT) were present and spoke.

A big floor fight ensued when Maoists of the Revolutionary Union counterposed what they called rank-and-file "self-reliance" to "reliance" on the courts and the government. The RU and other sectarian groupings wanted "absolutely" nothing to do with any lawyers or lawsuits. The great majority of the delegates, however, voted in favor of the use of court action as one weapon in the arsenal of labor in the fight against the bosses and the union bureaucracy. It was resolved that court action was mainly a means of making public our demands and exposing Abel and his cronies.

This example illustrates the role played by the sectarian political groups and points to one of the weaknesses in the present opposition movement in the USWA. A number of the existing caucuses are primarily composed of radicals from these groups, such as Revolutionary Union, October League, Communist League, Progressive Labor Party, and so on.

Another caucus is the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, in which the Communist Party plays the dominant role. They boycotted the Chicago conference, and attempt to maintain the sectarian pretense that NSWRFC is the rank-and-file movement in the USWA. Apparently surprised by the size and breadth of the conference, however, some CPers did show up for the Memorial Day picnic afterward.

All these radical groups are trying to attract the rather widespread antileadership sentiment in the USWA. So far none have succeeded in doing so, and their method of operation rules out that possibility.

The Youngstown groups (RAFT and the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers) are the closest to the real anti-Abel sentiment in the union. They are trying to defend working conditions in Local 1462, where they are the leadership, and as a result they are in opposition to Abel's gang on nearly every ques-

tion. These experienced older leaders and other genuine rank-and-file militants played an especially valuable role at the conference.

Another component of the opposition movement should be noted as significant. A broad section of the rank and file in District 31 has been attracted to the challenge to a fraudulent election there last year, in which Ed Sadlowski, a young USWA staff member, was crudely cheated out of the post of district director. It is likely that courts will order a new election.

So as it stands now, large numbers of steelworkers are dissatisfied with the present union leadership and a few are being attracted to the different caucuses. But there is no sign yet of a real rank-and-file revolt against Abel and his policies, epitomized by ENA and the new contract. One reason for this is that the steel industry is now booming. Steelworkers can put in overtime to get needed extra pay.

Delegate elections to the September USWA convention, in which many opposition candidates will be running, will provide some gauge of the broad sentiment of the membership.

In my opinion the best approach for rank-and-file militants in the USWA at this time is to expose the attacks by the steel trust and develop a program for mobilizing workers against them. Speedup and unsafe working conditions are big problems in the plants. A campaign against race and sex discrimination would also be likely to get a good response. These are some of the major issues to be addressed in a program of struggle, along with the right to strike. Some of the resolutions from the Chicago conference are a step in the right direction.

We should direct our main fire against the bosses, and explain what the union can and should be doing, as the workers organization, to defend their interests. Any campaign around such issues puts the union bureaucrats in a position of supporting our demands or covering up for the companies.

Unfortunately, the existing caucuses often talk and act as though the union bureaucrats are a bigger enemy than the steel barons. Talk about what a rat Abel is comes cheap, but we're not merely out to dump Abel and his crew. Nor is any opposition caucus in a position to do so at this time.

If we aim to build a mass movement that can transform the union into a fighting tool of the workers, we need to begin by formulating and winning people to a class-struggle program for the Steelworkers union. The Chicago conference shows that there are real and growing possibilities for this.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



'WomenSports'

Many *Militant* readers send in newspaper clippings and suggestions for this column. Many are about female athletics, ranging from the Little League fight to Olga Korbut's gymnastic marvels.

One reader sent in a column by Mike Royko of the Chicago *Daily News* about last year's winner of the Print Craft Bowling Tournament, Carol Langer. Langer is a teletypesetter, the first woman to enter the tournament. She beat out 200 men to take the trophy. This year she won't be defending her title because the men of the printing trades refused to bowl if they had to compete with women. Or, more accurately, if they had to compete with a woman they knew could win.

Another reader sent in two long, impressive articles that appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* about the advances women have made in the last few years in the athletic field. I also received the 10-page feature from *Newsweek* magazine titled "Sportswomanlike Conduct." Women in sports has even been a topic lately in the pages of the *Congressional Record*.

Best of all, however, is the magazine I received called *WomenSports*, published by Billie Jean King.

The first issue, June 1974, has something for almost any woman interested in sports, from beginners to old hands and from marathon runners to poker players.

Did you know that the first national women's mara-

thon was held this year and that 10-year-old Mary Etta Boitano placed fourth? Boitano ran the 26.3-mile race in 3 hours, 1 minute, and 15 seconds. More than 500 women competed in the race.

WomenSports has a good article about women's strength and endurance compared with men's. There's an article called "Foremothers" about a sportswoman of earlier times.

My favorite article was "Praise the Lord and Pass the Basketball" by Caryl Rivers. She describes the transformation the members of her basketball team from a Catholic girls school went through once they were on the basketball court. "... it diluted the passivity that society urged on females; there was nothing passive about the way we played basketball," she writes. The "ladylike," "pious" young women became independent competitors, proud of their own accomplishments. "On the basketball court, we controlled our own destiny. Success or failure depended solely on our actions. It did not depend on our parents or our bra size or on other external factors we could not govern."

Someone pointed out to me that Billie Jean King's picture appears in the magazine no less than 10 times (mostly in ads) and that's true, she over did it a bit. But it sure beats looking at Joe Namath plastered all over *Sports Illustrated*.



Clothier to the emperors—Harry Cherry of Beverly Hills provides gentlemen with custom-made clothes—suits from \$450. Important personages from the East will fly in several times just for fittings. "I get many chairmen of the boards and presidents of companies," Cherry said. "They stand here every day with their pants off."

Music to puke by—"In a sense, Chez Cary does what restaurants are supposed to do. It restores the dignity lost to a frazzling world. . . . You will be greeted by name, seated in a velvet chair. A busboy will kneel to slide a footstool under your feet."—Los Angeles Times restaurant column.

Best of heaven and earth—Wedding presents for the Guru Maharaj Ji included a cabin cruiser and a silver Maserati—with "Just Married" white-washed on the rear window.

Fashion tip—"In case you haven't heard it before, rubies are much more 'in' than emeralds this season."—Los Angeles Times society report.

Think you've got problems—A federal judge in New York resigned his \$40,000-a-year position because he could no longer keep up with the rising cost of living.

Social Science discovery dept. (I)—An experimental project by a City University of New York team estab-

lished that poor people are more likely to be cheated than prosperous ones.

Social Science discovery dept. (II)—Children who don't expect to get a decent education or a good job are generally the ones who turn to delinquency, according to a University of Michigan Institute for Social Research investigation.

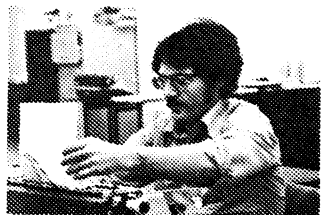
Affinity group?—Sandra Silva, the San Francisco American Nazi Party activist who became the center of controversy because she is employed by the S. F. police department, told a New York Times interviewer that she applied for her police clerk's job "because there you get a better class of people . . . no blacks or Jews."



'All I know, Harrison, is that I've been on the board forty years and have yet to see an excess profit.'

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Not fit for human beings

About five years ago, the state of California established a series of day-care centers for children of migrant workers who live in labor camps. They were motivated, of course, not by any concern for migrant families but simply to assure an adequate supply of low-paid female labor.

A recent report shows that these child-care centers would be more accurately described as child "neglect" centers. They are not fit for human beings.

According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, federal inspectors found that most of the child-care centers did not meet even official minimal standards in terms of health, safety, and fire regulations. In many cases, California officials never bothered to inspect the centers. Often the centers are not inspected until the end of the harvest. Even then, recommendations for upgrading are often ignored.

One center, located on company land, that was described in the report sounds like a death trap. The playground area was found to be littered with lumber scraps, tin cans, and dog feces. The play "equipment" consisted of a dilapidated toyhouse next to a pile of scrap lumber, a broken swing, and a sandbox without sand. There were two tricycles for 26 children. The fence had collapsed, and the children could wander into an area that

was congested with diesel trucks and large farm machinery.

Dogs were free to roam through the area. There had never been a fire inspection. There was no plumbing. There was no hot water, and the children had to use chemical toilets, of insufficient number, made for adults.

The Buena Vista day-care center was located adjacent to and downwind from the county garbage dump, causing the facility to be constantly infested with flies. Seventy-five children were enrolled in this center built to handle 35. Not enough cots were available for all the children to take a nap at once.

Most of the children had either no record of required health immunizations or their immunizations were incomplete. None of the personnel had received medical examinations as required by law.

At the Dixon day-care center, according to the report, "The cook stated that the children would not drink the tap water because of the sediment, so he added grape flavoring to camouflage the brown coloring in the water."

At another center, which was found to be the "most modern and well maintained physical plant of those visited," a fire inspection had not been made within the past 12 months. For most of the personnel, there was either no evidence of a tuber-

culosis test or they had not had a TB clearance within the past 12 months.

The child-care centers operate under the jurisdiction of State Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles, a Black Democrat with quite a reputation as a liberal. Riles, in an answer to the federal report, terms the outrageous conditions the result of "deficiencies" in an otherwise "effective monitoring system."

We can have no faith whatever in Riles or the federal government to correct these abuses in the day-care centers. This program has existed for five years. Year after year, the government makes inspections, revelations, and recommendations. Conditions are still horrible.

There is only one force that can really clean up the fields, the labor camps, and the day-care centers—a strong union. Experience has shown that a union contract, in which the *campesinos* have some control, is the only way that abuses in the fields have been somewhat remedied.

The growers should be made to pay for quality child-care facilities for all farm workers. They can afford it.

These revelations about the way the children of migrant workers are treated are one more reason why we must support the United Farm Workers in their struggle to unionize the fields.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Buying votes

A recent staff report of the Senate Watergate committee disclosed that the Nixon administration during the 1972 elections tried to bribe certain Black individuals and groups with federal money in return for backing and Black votes.

To achieve this, a team of Black supporters was formed to advise how federal funds could be used to influence Blacks seeking financing for certain projects.

Memorandums from this team stated that previous Nixon administration funding for minority business, loans, and contracts was not always used in a "positive manner."

"Examples of such funding coming back to haunt us is seen in the model cities, Office of Minority Business Enterprise [OMBE] and Office of Economic Opportunity programs," one memo says. The OMBE was created under the Nixon administration to channel federal funds into minority business.

Another memo says: "a selective funding approach will furnish encouragement incentives for black individuals, firms and organizations whose support will have a multiplier effect on black vote support for the President."

The same memo was critical of the Reverend Leon Sullivan's Opportunities Industrialization Centers. It said that OIC "is presently receiving approximately 80 per cent of its budget [from Administration programs] yet scheduled speakers who were critical of the President."

The memos also mentioned the possibility of either enlisting the aid of the Reverend Jesse Jackson and James Farmer, or convincing them to be neutral in return for federal money.

This report is not the first disclosure of these Nixon strong-arm methods. Earlier reports indicated that aspiring Black businessmen, hoping for federal loans and contracts, were also made to declare their support for Nixon's reelection.

In October 1973, Black Congressman Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) found that the OMBE in the first nine months of 1973 did not renew a record 28 of its contracts to Black individuals and agencies because they didn't toot their horns for Nixon. Mitchell said the agency was adopting a "partisan, politicized" outlook, and noted that four former officials of CREEP, the Committee to Reelect the President, had moved into leadership functions in the OMBE.

In November 1973, the *New York Times* published the results of an investigation that "found that minority businessmen applying for Federal funds had to first declare allegiance to the President or their applications were in jeopardy."

Ted Watkins, chairman of the Watts Labor Community Action Committee, told the *Times* that the pressure on him "was almost unbearable." He lost a \$1.5-million contract when he refused to support Nixon in 1972. He explained to the *Times* that he was "told by Los Angeles black Republicans 'to get in line and I would get my money.'"

Such selective and illegal use of federal money for political backing is nothing new; it has been practiced under previous administrations, Republican and Democratic alike. But since the Watergate disclosures, such practices have been forced under the public spotlight.

An especially deceitful aspect here though, as one memo implies, is that programs like OEO and Model Cities, which were totally inadequate to begin with, were winnowed to next to nothing because they were examples of programs that kept "coming back to haunt" the administration.

Prospects for Ladies Garment Workers Union

By FRANK LOVELL

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has a prominent place in the history of the union movement. It was organized 74 years ago by socialist-minded workers in the needle trades, most of them Jewish immigrants.

In 1917 the union distinguished itself by refusing to send delegates to a prowar conference called by AFL President Samuel Gompers. When the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed by a minority of AFL executive council members in 1935, ILGWU President David Dubinsky was one of them.

During the labor upsurge of the 1930s and the rise of the CIO movement, Dubinsky sought a business compromise with the manufacturers of women's clothing. He was anxious to

guarantee the stability and solvency of the union by winning collective bargaining rights and little else. In exchange he accepted the employers' piecework system in the garment shops, "under union supervision and control."

Dubinsky led the ILGWU back into the old AFL craft-union setup in 1940. From time to time Dubinsky spoke about socialism and the early ideals of the garment workers, but he was too busy organizing support for the Democratic Party to recruit for the socialist future or improve the working conditions of ILGWU members in the capitalist present.

During World War II Dubinsky and the union staff were the first to volunteer wage controls in the garment industry "for the war effort" and for the enrichment of the dress manufacturers

who switched over to Army uniforms.

The gulf between those who today run the ILGWU and the workers whose dues sustain it was lavishly demonstrated by the 1,008 delegates to the union's recent thirty-fifth constitutional convention in Miami Beach. The delegates were all mature men and women. Some were once machine operators, a long time ago. For a solid week they talked, usually about the problems of the industry and the terrible danger of foreign competition. They danced in the evening and drank cocktails and dined on filet mignon and told each other nothing is too good for garment workers.

They cheered the 82-year-old Dubinsky who retired as president in 1966 after 34 years in office and still stays on as director of services for retired members. They wound up their convention June 7 by reelecting the four top officers.

As the convention delegates filled out their expense accounts and prepared to return home, it must have seemed to them that the union was in good shape. There is a \$33-million reserve fund, extensive property holdings in Manhattan and elsewhere, a rumored surplus of \$350-million in the pension fund, and just to make sure that all expenses are covered, the convention voted to raise the dues of the 430,000-member organization another \$1 a month.

The officers are all well cared for. President Louis Stulberg, who is 73 years old and ailing, collects an annual salary of \$36,400 plus expenses of \$3,764.

There are some things about the ILGWU membership and other matters that foreshadow trouble, but the officers sought to prepare for this.

The dues increase was one such measure. Another was a resolution to

launch a \$15-million organizing campaign.

The garment industry pays the lowest of all manufacturing wages, with many workers getting barely the federal minimum. Sewing machine operators, nearly all women, are on piecework and often take home \$75 or less weekly.

In the garment industry 80 percent of all workers are women, and the vast majority are Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other minorities.

Garment manufacturing is moving to rural areas, away from New York City. About two-thirds of the ILGWU membership is outside the city. Much of the industry is unorganized. This accounts for the need, now plainly seen, to undertake an organizing drive.

There were signs that the present leaders are dimly aware of the need to reorganize the structure of the union. The 28-member general executive board, previously composed only of white men, has three new members. One of them, Mattie Jackson, is the first Black woman ever chosen.

Provisions were made at the convention for the early retirement of President Stulberg, to be replaced by the current secretary-treasurer, Sol Chaikin, who is only 56. By this process "young blood" is brought into the organization, but not too fast. The ILGWU leadership believes firmly in moderation.

These are all signs of ossification, not rejuvenation. There is no future in the self-reform of these present union officials. This union will regain the vigor of its beginning years—before Dubinsky—only when it goes after the garment bosses for real living wages and elimination of the old piecework system.



In early days ILGWU was organized by socialist-minded workers

UFW retirement village completed near Delano

By DAVID KEEPNEWS

DELANO, Calif.—Some 3,500 people rallied near here June 15 in support of the United Farm Workers of America.

UFW supporters from all over the state came here to dedicate the Agbayani Retirement Village, which will house retired farm workers from the area.

Most of the 58 workers who will move into the village this summer are Filipino men with no families. They came to the United States in the 1920s and 30s, when the immigration laws prevented them from bringing their families with them and racist miscegenation laws prevented them from marrying white women.

The 50-unit village occupying a 40-

acre stretch adjacent to Delano is named after Paulo Agbayani, an elderly Filipino UFW member who died on a union picket line against the Pirelli-Minetti Winery in 1967.

The dedication took the form of a morning rally in the center of the village, addressed by leaders of the UFW and of the local and national AFL-CIO.

César Chávez, calling attention to some past UFW struggles, told the crowd that "the struggle to build a union among farm workers is an old struggle. This village reminds us of all the unsung heroes, all the martyrs."

In Spanish, referring to the union-busting sweetheart contracts Teamster officials have signed with the growers, Chávez said, "The Teamsters will never take away what is ours—we

mean this!"

Members of the UFW national board reported on the grape and lettuce boycott in cities around the country.

Labor support for the farm workers' struggle was evident. Rank-and-file members of several unions were present, including Teamsters.

In addition, among the AFL-CIO officials who addressed the rally were Sigmund Arywitz, executive secretary of the Los Angeles County Labor Federation; J. J. Rodriguez, president of the federation and chairman of the Farm Workers Support Committee; John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation; and Thomas Donahue, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany.



Construction of village

Cleveland typesetters reject longer workweek

CLEVELAND—Rank-and-file members of Cleveland Typographical Union Number 53 turned out in force at their regular membership meeting June 16 to reject a tentative agreement with commercial shop employers that provided a return to the 40-hour week.

By a secret-ballot vote of 147 to 56, the standing-room-only crowd turned down the proposal to give up the current 37.5-hour week in exchange for a \$43-a-week increase to go into effect three months before the expiration of their contract.

No amount of sugar-coating could make the union men and women swallow the pill of a longer workweek, or save President Kenneth Ramella, who

received a number of other setbacks at the meeting.

Ramella faces impeachment on seven charges of malfeasance in office unrelated to the contract negotiations.

Speakers against the contract saw the return to a 40-hour week as a retreat in the struggle for shorter hours and no solution to the problems of inflation and the high cost of living.

They pointed out that longer hours mean fewer jobs in a trade already feeling the blows of automation and layoffs.

"What do we do in the next contract?" one man asked. "Go to a 41-hour week? Then 42? 45? We're fighting compulsory overtime now. Are we go-

ing to write two-and-a-half hours of forced overtime at straight-time rates into our contract? No way!"

The final kiss of death came when one member of the negotiating committee naively reported that the employers thought the 40-hour week was "a great idea."

After rejection of the commercial shop's contract, discussion was opened on proposals for the newspaper negotiations due later this year.

A motion instructing the scale committee to give top priority to a cost-of-living clause and shorter hours passed unanimously.

In other actions at the meeting, the membership:

- Filled the vacant post of vice-

president by electing William Withers, a man who ran against Ramella in the last election. Withers defeated Joe Burke, Ramella's choice, by a vote of 173 to 56.

- Accepted, by a vote of 157 to 87, the report of an investigating committee that found impeachment charges against Ramella worthy of trial. A rank-and-file trial committee was chosen by lot. The committee will report at the July meeting, when the membership will vote on impeachment.

- Voted to remove Ramella from the union payroll until the trial is concluded (he can go back to his job on a local newspaper in the meantime, it was pointed out).

'Practical politics'?

Why some Black Democrats

By DERRICK MORRISON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The recent landslide victory of George Wallace in the Alabama Democratic gubernatorial primary attracted considerable attention around the country.

One of the reasons for this was the relatively sizable Black vote Governor Wallace received. Eight percent of the Black voters of Alabama pulled the lever for Wallace. This compares with less than 1 percent who voted for Wallace in his election bid four years ago.

With the exception of Macon County, Wallace carried every county in the state—including nine

Derrick Morrison is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.

that officially have a Black majority. A number of Black elected officials supported Wallace.

Many newspapers that had opposed Wallace in 1970 supported him this time. And this also marked the first time—with the exception of his unsuccessful bid for governor in 1958—that Wallace got the backing of the 225,000-member Alabama Labor Council, the state affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

Wallace received two-thirds of the 750,000 votes cast. Of the four candidates who opposed his bid for a third term, his chief but still distant rival was State Senator Eugene McLain from Huntsville. The difference between the two was amply reflected in the campaign finances. Wallace reported campaign contributions of \$645,990, while McLain collected a paltry \$50,000.

Why?

Why is it that Wallace was able to get this support, including votes from a small but still significant number of Blacks?

One of the reasons relates to Wallace's attempts to modify his image as an arch-racist and segregationist. Wallace has of late cut out some of his most virulent racist rhetoric and has made gestures—such as turning up at the Southern Conference of Black Mayors—to try to encourage the idea that he has "changed."

Given Wallace's ambitions to be on the 1976 Democratic Party presidential ticket, and given the greater number of Black voters in his own home state, it is to Wallace's advantage to make this change. And he has little to lose. He already has the support of the more rabid racists because of his past record. Moreover, many of his past supporters consider the defense of Jim Crow laws a lost cause. Racist oppression Southern-style is beginning to look more like the racist oppression of the North, and demagogues like Wallace are adjusting to that.

The *Southern Star* of Ozark, Ala., editorialized two months ago: "With the Republican party and our national leadership in shambles, the Democrats will obviously move into the White House in 1976."

"We make no rash predictions that Alabama's governor will be the occupant, but certainly he will have a lot to say about who is elected in 1976. Obviously it is mandatory for him to remain as governor to keep his position viable."

"As to a feeling that the state needed to move toward a more moderate position in race relations in 1970, we have witnessed that transition, and as Wallace often points out, while he was an avowed segregationist when it was the law in this state, it no longer exists, therefore, the issue is really dead. And for all practical purposes, Gov. Wallace has moved more to the center of this question and has won the endorsement of black groups across the state."

'Practical politics'

There are also other reasons why a number of Black politicians have given support to the man who once shouted, "Segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."

An important factor has been the desire on the part of some Black officials to get immediate benefits, however meager, for their home constituencies. Wallace dominates the Democratic Party of Alabama, and if you operate in the Democratic Party

it is hard to avoid collaboration and accommodation with the Wallace forces.

Mayor Johnny Ford of Tuskegee, who at different times in the past supported the campaigns of Robert Kennedy, John Lindsay, and Richard Nixon and who is now an outspoken Black supporter of Wallace, explained his pro-Wallace position in an article in the April 12 *Alabama Journal*. "I'm a Democrat and I'm convinced that Gov. Wallace is going to be the nominee for governor. I want to insure that Tuskegee has an opportunity to be considered on an equal basis with other cities. Traditionally cities with black majorities have not had an equal shot."

This is, to borrow a phrase from the liberal Black Democrats, playing the game of "practical politics."

When Wallace went to the Southern Conference of Black Mayors, held in Tuskegee last November and attended by more than 20 of the 46 Black mayors in the 11 Southern states, it was "practical politics" for Mayor Ford to introduce him. It was "practical politics" for those who attended to listen to him, and it was "practical politics" when the



Tuskegee Mayor Johnny Ford (right) with 'changed' Wallace.

gathering rose and gave Wallace a standing ovation and then rushed the platform to shake his hand.

As Prichard Mayor A. J. Cooper, a Black, expressed it so succinctly, "Look, you've got to deal here in Alabama with the Alabamians in power. Wallace is in power."

These politicians reflect new trends in politics in Alabama. What is happening is that with the victories won in the struggle for the right of Black people to vote and run for office, new, more subtle methods are being used to try to prevent Black people from fighting for real changes in their condition. Black people are now able to vote and run for office, but they are encouraged to do this through the Democratic Party. They are told, if you want to win, if you want to be elected, if you want to be "practical," join the Democratic Party.

Support for the racist Wallace is the logical conclusion of such "practical" politics.

Former activists object

When Tuskegee Mayor Johnny Ford and other Black mayors threw their support to Wallace in the primary, John Lewis of the Voter Education Project and Georgia State Representative Julian Bond, who were both members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and activists in the civil rights struggles in the early 1960s, expressed dismay. They were so upset that they went to Alabama and held a couple of meetings to remind Black voters of Wallace's opposition to the civil rights movement.

Julian Bond and John Lewis are both Democrats who have been strong advocates of Black people joining the Democratic Party. So, although they raised objections to supporting Wallace, they did not point out that this support for Wallace was the logical conclusion of the entry of civil rights activists such as themselves into the Democratic Party. And they did not point out that what Black people in Alabama need is a viable alternative to the party of Wallace.

Lowndes County

The knocking down of Jim Crow laws in the South came not through work in the Democratic and Republican parties but through struggles taking place outside these parties. One important example of this was the struggle waged in Alabama by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Lowndes County.

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), initiated in 1965, was the embryo of a Black political party. It ran candidates against the Democrats and took as its emblem the Black Panther, which it counterposed to the white rooster emblem of the Alabama Democratic Party. Stokely Carmichael, a leader of SNCC, helped organize the LCFO.

In 1966, the LCFO candidates polled more than 40 percent of the vote, qualifying as an official political party. But, during the next four years the Lowndes County Freedom Party (LCFP) remained a county organization. It did not catch hold around the state and was left isolated, unable to link up with Black political developments nationally. SNCC, which could have been instrumental in taking the experience of Lowndes onto a national level, went into a decline, although its militant Black Power views spread far and wide.

The Black Panther Party launched in Oakland, Calif., by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale showed promise of embarking on the road of independent Black political action, but was derailed from this course by ultraleft rhetoric on the one hand and opportunist policies on the other.

The NDPA

In 1970 the Lowndes County Freedom Party leadership decided to link up with the National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA). The NDPA, headed by Dr. John Cashin, a Huntsville dentist, was started in 1968 as a predominantly Black vehicle outside the Alabama Democratic Party but identifying with the national party and aspiring to become the official Democratic Party in Alabama.

Cashin ran for governor in 1970 heading a slate of 166 NDPA candidates. Cashin got 16 percent of the vote. Twelve NDPA candidates were elected to county positions. One of those elected on the NDPA ticket was John Hulett, a former leader of the Lowndes County Freedom Party, who became sheriff of Lowndes County.

Since 1970, the National Democratic Party of Alabama has declined as a statewide organization. In the wake of the election of more than 1,000 Black officials in the South through the Democratic Party, and with the new "flexibility" being shown by the Alabama Democratic Party and figures such as Wallace, many activists have abandoned the NDPA and joined the Democratic Party.

The NDPA was never a party that mobilized Black people in struggle on a day-to-day basis. Unlike the Lowndes County Freedom Party, which supported and linked up with school boycotts and other struggles of Black people in Lowndes, the NDPA was mainly an electoral machine. Thus, when the Alabama Democratic Party began to look more and more like the Democrats nationally, the base was knocked out from under the NDPA.

The NDPA turned out to be a stepping stone into the Democratic Party for many former civil rights activists, and this has turned out to be the case with the former leaders of the Lowndes County Freedom Party. In Lowndes this year Sheriff John Hulett and other Black political activists decided they would enter the Democratic primary and contest for some of the 21 positions on the county executive committee. They put up candidates for eight positions, winning six. In addition, two Blacks were elected to the five-member board of education; the county coroner, who is Black, was

ack George Wallace



Lowndes County Freedom Organization activists registering people to vote in 1966 election. LCFO represented beginnings of an independent Black party in Alabama.

reelected; and Hulett defeated four opponents for sheriff.

Although newspapers, including the *New York Times*, printed reports that Hulett endorsed Wallace, he says the reports are false. He said that in many cases, Black people in Lowndes simply did not vote in the gubernatorial election, casting votes only for local candidates.

Lowndes revisited

Eight years ago I visited Lowndes County at the time the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was being organized. At that time Black people in Lowndes were still fighting for the right to organize, for the right to vote and to hold office. Black people won these rights as a result of hard-fought battles. But few gains have been made in the area of overcoming the poverty and social and economic oppression facing Black people in Lowndes and the rest of Alabama.

During a recent trip I made to Lowndes, John Hulett told me that over the past eight years 60 percent of the small farmers of Lowndes County, mainly Blacks, have been forced off the land by the big landowners. Rural shacks still exist there, and Blacks continue to get the worst jobs and go to the worst schools.

It was possible in Lowndes and elsewhere in the South to bring about the end of Jim Crow and to make the Southern form of racial oppression more like that practiced in the North. This was something the capitalist rulers were willing to give concessions on—only after a struggle—to avoid more drastic changes. But, bringing about a solution to the fundamental economic problems Black people face will be more difficult.

Alternative needed

What will it take to get rid of the oppression Black people continue to suffer in both the North and the South?

Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette, Miss., says he is ready to support Wallace as a vice-presidential candidate on the national Democratic ticket in 1976. "... if we hooked George Wallace up with Ted Kennedy or Mondale," he says, "we'd have a winner."

For Evers, the yardstick for change is not the degree to which Wallace has ended the grinding poverty and oppression of Alabama Blacks. It is not the degree to which Wallace has built new housing for Black and poor white people. And neither is it the degree to which Wallace has provided funds and materials to lift the educational level in the Black community. No, it is none of these, because Wallace hasn't and won't accomplish any of these things.

For Evers, all that is required is a "shift" in Wallace's rhetoric for him to become acceptable. Wallace crowns a Black homecoming queen at the University of Alabama or shows up at the Southern Conference of Black Mayors, and for Evers, that is tantamount to the earth shaking and the

heavens rumbling.

However, the reality is that no capitalist politician—whether it is a "changed" Wallace, or a Kennedy—can solve the problems Black people face.

The system of oppression that fosters inflation, unemployment, racism, war, and the oppression of women will not be ended by relying on the Democratic and Republican parties. These are the very parties responsible for these problems, since they are committed to the capitalist status quo.

Racism, like war and unemployment, is deeply embedded in the profit system. It is designed to maximize the profits of the tiny handful of bankers, industrialists, and real estate sharks who run this society. It is in the interests of these very rich that the Democratic and Republican parties serve.

Racist oppression will only end with a fundamental transformation of this society, an end to the production for profit of vital necessities such as meat, wheat, and oil.

The overturning of the system of racist and capitalist oppression will not come about as long as the masses of Black people and other working people are bound hand and foot by the Democratic and Republican parties.

On the other hand, the degree to which Black people organize outside and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties, that will be the extent to which progress in the struggle will be made.

The independent election campaigns and struggles of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama during the 1960s were an example of the type of organization Black people need today on a national scale. What is needed is the building of such independent struggles and an independent party of Black people nationwide. Since the Democratic Party needs the votes of Black people in order to win, a Black party, if it became a mass party, would mark the death of the Democratic Party and would provide an example for the entire working class.

Black Liberation and Socialism

Anthology, edited by Tony Thomas. Contains Socialist Workers Party resolutions on "The Case for an Independent Black Political Party" and "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation." Also, such articles as "How to Fight Racism" by Andrew Pulley; "In Defense of Black Nationalism" by Tony Thomas; "The Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution" by Derrick Morrison; and "Why Women's Liberation Is Important to Black Women" by Maxine Williams. 207 pp. \$2.45 paper, \$9 cloth.

Order from: PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Democrats push through antilabor bill in Ohio

By FRANK LOVELL

A sequel to the Ohio AFL-CIO state convention in May should be a warning to all those who think a "veto-proof Congress" in Washington next year, consisting of a gang of Democratic Party politicians, will serve the needs of working people.

The Democratic Party in Ohio depends on union money, union campaign workers, and union votes. Without the union movement the Democrats in that state would hold few offices. On this account some union officials got the foolish idea that they ought to have something to say about how Democrats in the state legislature vote after they get elected.

These union officials overlook one of the most stubborn facts of politics in this country: the Democratic Party is constituted to represent the employing class, not the workers.

Ignoring this fact, Frank King, former AFL-CIO state president in Ohio, began to act as if he thought Democratic Governor John Gilligan ought to be open to suggestions from the union movement. Gilligan disagreed. He had the contrary notion that King ought to serve the Gilligan administration. This led to a struggle for leadership within the AFL-CIO, not the Democratic Party.

The result was that King, who for 10 years had been head of the Ohio AFL-CIO, was replaced by Milan Marsh.

Marsh unseated King because most of the top officials of the major unions at the Ohio AFL-CIO convention this year thought the governor



'Veto-proof' or non 'veto-proof,' legislatures will keep passing antilabor measures as long as they are filled with Democrats and Republicans.

would surely see to it that good legislation is passed if the unions are careful not to seem to get at cross-purposes with him. They misunderstand the governor's purposes. But what happened in the state legislature only a few days after their convention should disabuse them of some of that misunderstanding.

An antilabor bill that eliminates unemployment compensation for school janitors, cafeteria workers, and bus drivers during the summer months was passed by the state house and sent back to the senate for concurrence.

Fifteen Democrats, more than a quarter of the house Democratic Caucus, combined with 38 Republicans to push through this mean penny-pinching piece of legislation.

Newly elected AFL-CIO President Marsh, friend of the governor, was present when the voting took place. He must have tried to remind the legislators that he is the governor's friend.

Marsh may be reminded one of these days, sooner than he thinks, that being the governor's friend is no help to the noncertified public school workers who will be cheated out of their weekly unemployment checks. It's no help to any other AFL-CIO members either, those whose per capita tax pays Marsh to represent them.

Atlanta Blacks conduct trial of police crimes

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Three hundred people marched to the city hall on the afternoon of June 18 to conduct a mock trial of racist police chief John Inman.

Only hours before, Mayor Maynard Jackson, a Black Democrat, denounced the demonstration, saying, "The police controversy will be decided in the courts, not in the streets."

Participants in the mock trial took issue with the mayor's statement. Reverend Hosea Williams, acting as judge, said, "The courts are now saying, 'Nigger mayor, you cannot fire a white chief,' so we are conducting our own court... we're tired of Maynard Jackson's shuffling and jiving."

Acting as prosecuting attorney, Arlon Kennedy read the charges against Chief Inman, including "illegal spying on the newspaper the *Atlanta Voice* and racist intimidation of the Black movement" and "intent to commit murder by conspiring against the will of the people to establish clandestine murder

squads like the decoy squad and stakeout units."

Police in Atlanta have shot and killed 21 people, 20 of them Black, in the past 15 months.

Other charges against Inman included "illegal intimidation of workers at Mead and Rich's who were striking against racist working conditions last year," and "malfeasance in office by conspiring in office with the racist court system," a reference to Inman's success thus far in getting courts to uphold his refusal to step down after being fired by Mayor Jackson last month.

Among the witnesses testifying at the mock trial were Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor Vince Eagan and former Black Panther Ron Carter, now running for state legislature as an independent. A "people's subpoena" had been issued for Maynard Jackson, but he did not honor it.

Vince Eagan stated that the Inman controversy had exposed the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party. "The same people, like Maynard Jackson, who would never have been in office without demonstrations by Black people like this one, have come out and denounced efforts of people trying to protest racist attacks on the Black community."

"But I suppose you can't expect a party controlled by folks in the chamber of commerce to fight police whose role is to defend those same folks in the chamber of commerce."

Noting how the Democratic politicians want to take the question of the police out of the streets and put it safely behind courtroom doors, Eagan said, "The greatest fear of the white rulers of this city is for the masses of Black people to be involved in political activity and opposition to the way things are set up." He pointed out that the city council could have moved earlier to impeach Inman, "but they only moved after the mass demonstrations had forced their hand."

"It's only mass activity, involving all community groups, that can defend the Black community against police terror," he declared.



VINCE EAGAN: 'Only mass action can defend the Black community from police terror.'

Socialist candidates speak in N.Y. prison

STORMVILLE, N.Y.—Robb Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Brooklyn's 16th C.D., addressed 70 inmates at Greenhaven prison here May 22.

Wright spoke about the FBI's "COINTELPRO" plan to disrupt and harass the Black movement and radical organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party. He also discussed the dynamics of the African revolution and the present struggle for independence in the Portuguese colonies.

Greenhaven has 1,900 prisoners, most of whom are Black. Wright's talk was sponsored by the inmate-run Black studies program. The SWP has eight election campaign supporters at Greenhaven, and 20 people signed the mailing list to receive further information.

Following Wright's talk, SWP gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison and senatorial candidate Rebecca Finch spoke at a special "Problems Workshop" of the Black studies program June 5.

Discussion centered on the struggle

of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in District 1 for control of their schools; Black women and the feminist movement; and the election strategy of the Socialist Workers Party.

Pat Wright, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke about Black women and the feminist movement.

"What about forced sterilization of Black women when they have abortions?" asked one prisoner.

Wright answered, "The victory for abortion laid the ground for a fight against forced sterilization. It helps establish the principle that no one but the woman has the right to decide how many children she will have. This is important because population-control measures will be directed first at Black people."

The prisoners decided to arrange a future visit and lecture by Georgina Hoggard, one of the leading Puerto Rican activists in District 1, and Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for Congress from the 18th C.D. and an activist in the District 1 struggle.

Campaigning for socialism

FREE SPEECH VICTORY IN LOS ANGELES: The administration of Hamilton High School in Los Angeles has been forced to back down from its attempt to expel two Black students for listening to a socialist campaign rally after school.

On June 4, three Socialist Workers Party candidates—Olga Rodriguez, candidate for governor; Manuel "Tank" Barrera, candidate for L.A. County sheriff; and Omari Musa, candidate for U.S. Congress—addressed a campaign street meeting outside Hamilton High.

The 50 students who gathered to hear what the socialists had to say were told by campus security officer John Nevels to stop listening and move on. Some of them protested that they had a right to stand on a public sidewalk after school hours and listen to candidates, and Nevels started taking names.

The next day three students were suspended and two expelled. The suspended students were quickly reinstated, but Donald Harvey and Ron Addison, seniors scheduled to graduate this month, were barred from the campus or its vicinity and forbidden even to attend summer school.

The SWP campaign and the expelled students' parents raised an immediate and vigorous protest. Attorney Ronald Merlino agreed to represent the students in a legal fight for full reinstatement.

On June 12 a delegation including Merlino, the mothers of the expelled students, Omari Musa of the SWP campaign, and Laura Moorhead of the Young Socialist Alliance confronted the school's principal and demanded reinstatement of Harvey and Addison. A picket line was held outside the school.

Faced with this obviously unexpected storm of protest, the principal completely backed down. In spite of written notices sent to the parents that their sons were barred from school, the principal insisted it was all a "misunderstanding."

TEXAS, GEORGIA SOCIALISTS ANNOUNCE CHALLENGE TO DISCLOSURE LAWS: At a June 12 news conference in Houston, Texas SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith announced that the SWP campaign would refuse to comply with the disclosure provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act.

"We have refused to turn over our list of contributors because we know the government will use it as a ready-made device for further harassment and other illegal acts," Smith said.

"We insist that the government cannot assert the right to bug, wiretap, interrogate, fire from government employment, and otherwise harass supporters of our campaign, and at the same time require that we turn over the names, addresses, and places of employment of these supporters."

Smith explained that the new campaign "reform" laws will not touch the corruption of the capitalist parties. Rather, by discriminating against smaller parties and independent candidates, the laws will strengthen the political monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans.

The SWP's challenge to these undemocratic laws was also announced at a June 11 news conference in Atlanta by Elizabeth Lariscy, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia.

"We have no intention of sending written invitations to the FBI and other government agencies to harass and intimidate our campaign contributors," she said.

Lariscy's statement was covered on all three evening TV news programs, most radio news broadcasts, and the *Atlanta Journal*.

TWO, THREE, MANY STREET RALLIES: The New York SWP campaign has been holding street meetings from Harlem to Albany.

The socialist candidates for governor and for U.S. Senate, Derrick Morrison and Rebecca Finch, spoke outside several New York City high schools during the last few weeks of classes, and 36 students signed up to help with summer campaigning.

The best response came from Black and Puerto Rican students at Erasmus High School in Brooklyn and Brandeis High School on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.



Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.

A special leaflet was distributed on the socialist solution to youth unemployment. The leaflet was based on a talk given by Morrison during earlier high school campaigning, and was reprinted from an article in the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Street meetings are also being held on Saturdays in Harlem, and in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, where they are conducted in English and Spanish.

At the beginning of June, Ray Markey, socialist candidate for attorney general of New York, spent several days campaigning in Albany. He spoke at downtown street rallies and was interviewed by the Albany Communications Video Project for cable TV. Markey and Albany campaign supporters also set up a literature display at the Pinksterfest, a crafts fair held every summer in Albany and attended by thousands of residents of the city.

In another campaign development, Derrick Morrison spoke at a demonstration June 12 to protest continued domination of the Philippines by the U.S. government and corporations.

The action, sponsored by a number of Filipino groups, commemorated Philippine Independence Day. Signs demanded real independence and an end to U.S. support of the Marcos dictatorship.

—ANDY ROSE

Missouri socialists complete ballot drive

By NORTON SANDLER

ST. LOUIS—The Missouri Socialist Workers Party has successfully completed a three-week petitioning drive to place Barbara Mutnick, the party's candidate for U.S. Senate, on the ballot.

Campaign supporters collected 27,790 signatures in five congressional districts, or nearly 40 percent more than the required number. This is the first time the SWP has ever filed for ballot status in Missouri.

Experienced petitioners reported that this was the easiest petition blitz they had participated in, even though much of the effort took place in suburban areas that only a few years ago would have been considered the heartland of Nixon's "middle America." Now the sentiment of many people toward both the Democrats and Republicans was one of distrust and dislike.

The beginning of the two-week Kansas City drive was covered by two television stations and the *Kansas City Times*. After rapidly completing the 5th C.D., which lies within Kansas City, petitioners collected signatures in the traditionally conservative city of Independence, Harry Truman's hometown.

Barbara Mutnick, who was the top petitioner in the state with 2,166 signatures, said, "Many people there had seen me on television and readily signed to 'put the socialist woman on the ballot.'"

At a college in Warrensburg, the petitioning team was collecting signatures inside a building when a group of mostly middle-aged men on a balcony above asked what they were doing. Mutnick went upstairs and found that the men were attending a seminar for custodians from the Kansas City public schools.

She gave an impromptu talk on the undemocratic election laws and noted that her Democratic and Republican opponents do not have to go through the job of petitioning to obtain ballot status.

She then circulated her petition board. "Twenty-five people signed," she said, "nearly the entire class."

The St. Louis petitioning also received wide coverage in the press. *St.*



Petitioners gathered almost 28,000 signatures to win place on ballot for SWP.

Louis Post-Dispatch columnist Jake McCarthy wrote a lengthy column June 5 about Mutnick's campaign. The column quoted her as expressing confidence that society would be changed, "when literally millions decide they have to change it."

McCarthy also quoted Mutnick as saying, "In a Socialist society the working people should be able to make the basic decisions over how resources

are distributed, how technology is applied, how wealth is used. People should make these decisions where they work and where they live. A Socialist society has to be a democratic society where all views are brought forward."

Many people who signed petitions commented on the column.

Other signers were excited that a woman candidate was challenging the Democrats and Republicans. Petitioners remarked that a number of women who signed were angered by Democratic incumbent Thomas Eagleton's opposition to implementation of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Many people in the Black community who signed petitions did so after learning that Mutnick was active in the struggle to free J.B. Johnson, a St. Louis Black youth who was framed up by the police and is now serving a life sentence in the Missouri penitentiary.

Nearly 18,000 people signed SWP nominating petitions in St. Louis. Among the people who collected the most signatures were Barbara Bowman with 1,463 and Charlie Johnston with 1,450.

The petitions will be filed with the Missouri secretary of state June 27. A rally to celebrate the filing will be held June 28 at St. Stephen's Church, 14th and Park in St. Louis, at 8 p.m. Speakers will include Barbara Mutnick; Bob Lee Williams of the Cairo (Ill.) United Front; and Stephanie Coontz, associated editor of the *International Socialist Review*.

The Illinois Socialist Workers Party campaign collected more than 10,000 signatures in the second full week of its petitioning drive, bringing its total to nearly 28,000 signatures.

Supporters aim to collect a total of 57,000 signatures to put the SWP slate on the ballot in Illinois.

The Pennsylvania SWP campaign, with 61,000 signatures in hand, has nearly completed its drive for 65,000 in all. In the last week, 4,400 signatures were collected in Philadelphia and 8,200 in Pittsburgh.

A victory celebration will be held June 28 at the Philadelphia SWP campaign headquarters, 1004 Filbert St. Featured speakers will be Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, and Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president in 1972.

Ohio SWP on ballot for first time

By DAVE PAPARELLO

CLEVELAND—The Ohio Socialist Workers Party has been informed by the secretary of state that Nancy Brown and Herman Kirsch, SWP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, have been certified for the November ballot.

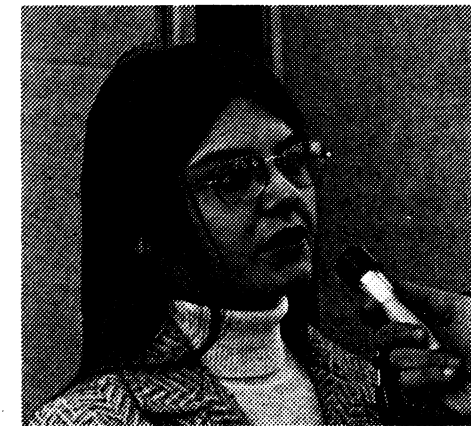
This marks the first time in Ohio history that candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will be listed on the statewide ballot.

The SWP had filed more than 20,000 signatures on independent nominating petitions Feb. 5 to place its candidates on the ballot.

This victory was acclaimed by the SWP candidates at a June 12 news conference at the Cuyahoga County board of elections. "Ohio has a long history of keeping everybody except Democrats and Republicans off the ballot," said Nancy Brown.

"From 1953 to 1972 every independent or third-party candidate was denied ballot status, except for two occasions when federal courts ordered

the secretary of state to place candidates on the ballot. Sections of the Ohio election law were twice ruled unconstitutional, and eventually an entirely new law had to be written.



Militant/Janice Cline

Nancy Brown, SWP candidate for governor of Ohio.

"Until 1972 the SWP was kept off the ballot because of the gigantic number of signatures required by the election law," Brown continued. "After that law was ruled unconstitutional, we gathered nearly 10,000 nominating signatures for our 1972 presidential slate. But the SWP was still kept off the ballot, this time on the pretext that our candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, were 'too young' to run for office."

"Now that we have gained ballot status," Brown declared, "we plan to redouble our efforts to publicize and win support for the socialist campaign in Ohio."

Actors and writers help publicize socialist suit

By CONNIE PIPER

NEW YORK—Actor Rip Torn, actress Viveca Lindfors, columnist Nat Hentoff, and playwright-critic Eric Bentley appeared at a June 13 benefit-cocktail party here for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). One hundred people attended.

The PRDF held the "Evening for Civil Liberties" to raise funds and publicize the suit against the U.S. government by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Filed by attorney Leonard Boudin, the suit is aimed at stopping illegal Watergate-style harassment—including wiretapping, mail tampering, police infiltration, bombing, and burglary—of groups that protest government policy.

Nat Hentoff, who recently obtained a secret file kept on him by the House Internal Security Committee (HISC), told guests at the party, "The Watergate revelations have uncovered only the top of the iceberg of illegal intel-

ligence operations against radicals.

"The PRDF suit can help stimulate further disclosures. . . . I agree with Leonard Boudin. It's a very winnable case and I hope you raise a lot of money for it."

PRDF National Field Secretary Michael Arnall explained to the gathering that while the attorney general's "subversive list" has been abolished, the Justice Department now claims it has the right to continue surveillance of 52 organizations on another, secret "subversive list." "Now is the time to take action," Arnall said, to press for a halt to all illegal government surveillance.

Rip Torn, made up as Richard Nixon, and Richard Backus, playing John Dean, read excerpts from Eric Bentley's new play *Expletive Deleted*, described by Bentley as "an edited transcript of the edited transcripts."

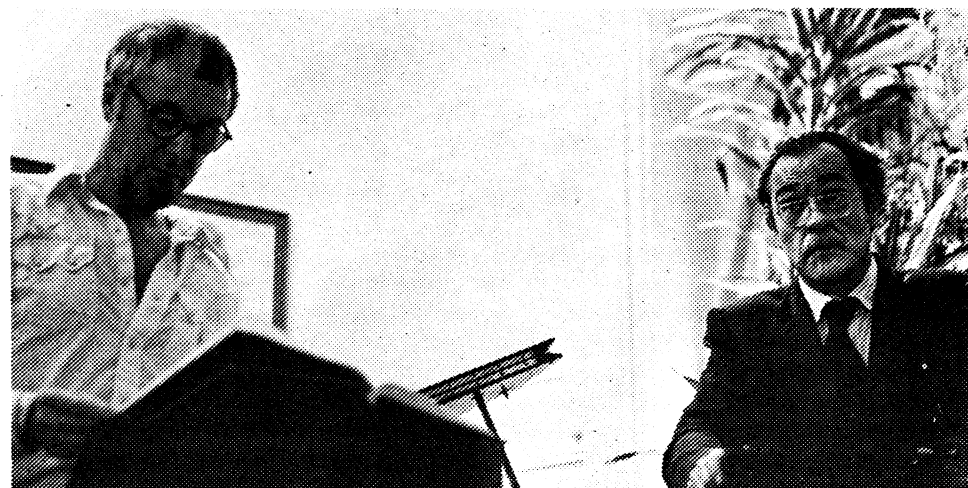
Torn and Backus enacted presidential conversations that appropriately focused on government bugging. At one point, his face frozen in an ugly grin, "Nixon" reminisced about the days when "Hoover kept a file on everyone."

A high point of the program was Viveca Lindfors's performance of excerpts from her one-woman off-Broadway show *I Am A Woman*. The show

is a dramatic reading of essays, poems, and plays by and about women. Most popular was her rendition of the essay, "I Want a Wife."

Hosts of the benefit included Ira Glasser, director, New York Civil Liberties Union; Henry Foner, president, Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Joint Board; Norman Dorsen, general counsel, American Civil Liberties Union; Edith Tiger, director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; and writers Murray Kempton and Joseph Heller.

The PRDF has slated fund-raising benefits in Chicago and Philadelphia in the next few weeks.



Militant/Jo Hendrickson

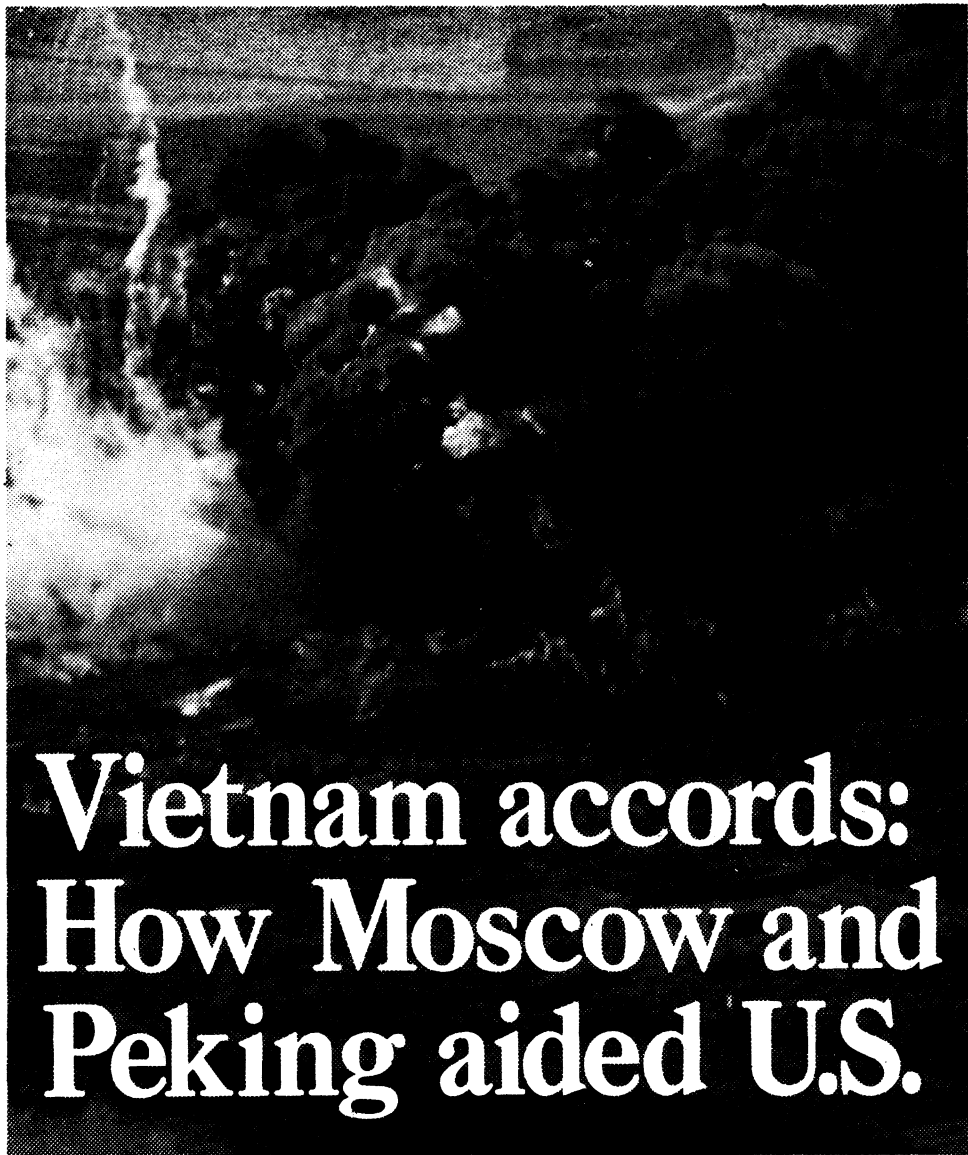
Eric Bentley (left) and Rip Torn (playing Nixon) perform at Political Rights Defense Fund benefit.

Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Enclosed is \$_____ to help cover expenses.

() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ booklets, "Challenge to the Watergate Crimes." (\$1 each or 75 cents each on orders of five or more.)

Name _____
Address _____
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Vietnam accords: How Moscow and Peking aided U.S.

By DICK ROBERTS

A new analysis of the events leading to the January 1973 Vietnam accords is contained in an article by Tad Szulc, a former *New York Times* correspondent, in the summer issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine. The article, on Henry Kissinger's behind-the-scenes diplomacy, confirms the role of Moscow and Peking in pressuring the Vietnamese to give in to Nixon's terms.

The Szulc article hit the newsstands the same week Kissinger attempted to steal the news with his sob-story news conference in Salzburg, Austria. The secretary of state claimed he was a man of "honor" and would never do such a thing as lie about his role in ordering secret wiretaps.

The contrast between the tearful Kissinger in Salzburg and the Kissinger in Szulc's article is striking.

Szulc reveals that Kissinger conducted secret negotiations concerning the course of the war in Southeast Asia beginning as early as 1969. The fact that the negotiations were even being held was kept secret until January 1972. They were so secret that only the highest U.S., Moscow, and Hanoi officials knew they were going on. South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Van Thieu was kept in the dark, according to Szulc. In fact, Szulc says, Kissinger more than once lied to Thieu about the character of Washington's policies.

Kissinger also lied to cabinet officials, to the U.S. ambassadors to the Soviet Union and France, to the entire U.S. Congress, and needless to say, to the entire American and world public. But, he asks us to believe, he would never lie about orders to wiretap alleged opponents of the war!

Szulc's article falls into the growing trend of liberal Kissinger worship, as though the man has finally been discovered who will make the world safe for U.S. imperialism. The "negotiation story," says Szulc, "offers a unique insight into the brilliance, stamina, and tactics of Henry Kissinger. . . . it is instructive to follow his steps—including his mistakes and deceptions—through the minefields of Paris and Hanoi, Saigon and Washington."

Kissinger, of course, was never in any battle zones. The "minefields" involved were mainly public opinion.

This aside, the Szulc article is important, because it confirms from a new angle three central lessons of the U.S. attack on Southeast Asia and of the Paris accords:

1) The United States reached a point where it could not crush the Vietnamese revolution on the battlefield.

2) This was not only because the liberation forces outflanked the U.S. military machine—the mightiest ever employed against a colonial revolution in history. It was also because the antiwar movement in the U.S. restricted Washington's options. The war had to be "wound down" to appease the American public.

3) In order to do this, Washington had to get aid from Peking and Moscow. A diplomatic settlement leaving intact a pro-U.S. military bastion in Saigon required pressure on Hanoi from its main sources of military and economic aid, especially from Moscow. "The logjam was broken diplomatically by Kissinger's two Moscow performances in 1972," Szulc summarizes, "emphasizing, among other things, that the Soviets and then the Chinese were able to play a greater role in the achievement of the peace than Washington had [previously] given them credit for."

'Logjam'

According to Szulc, two major disagreements held Washington and Hanoi apart in their secret Paris talks. The first was Washington's initial insistence on withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam, in return for U.S. withdrawal. The second was Hanoi's insistence that the Thieu regime be abandoned.

The turn on the first question came in May 1971, says Szulc, "against the background of increasingly hostile public opinion at home—the antiwar movement was at its apex by 1971—and in the context of Kissinger's conviction that the key to a Vietnam settlement was a détente with both the Soviet Union and China."

Kissinger secretly hinted that Washington would not insist on withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam if Hanoi would reciprocate by dropping its insistence on the removal of the Thieu regime.

Hanoi refused and the war con-

tinued. As Washington withdrew troops it escalated its bombing attack. Domestic pressure against the war heightened the anxiety in the White House to obtain a settlement. Kissinger's secret negotiations with Peking and Moscow had begun.

"Around January 20, 1972 . . .," says Szulc, "the White House became so alarmed both by the North Vietnamese build-up and Hanoi's continued silence concerning the resumption of the secret sessions, that the decision was made to 'go public' with the [formerly secret] October peace proposal and the disclosure that Kissinger had been intermittently holding private sessions with the Communists since August 1969. The idea of 'going public' had been considered for a number of months . . . because of growing frustration with Hanoi and, just as importantly, because of domestic public opinion. In White House parlance, the disclosure was made for the 'theater'—to confound criticism that the Administration was not actively pursuing peace in Vietnam."

On March 30, North Vietnam opened the dramatic offensive that, without Washington's massive bombing retaliation, could have toppled the Thieu regime.

Szulc writes: "When the scope of the Communist offensive was finally realized, a touch of panic developed in the White House. The fall of Quangtri during April deepened the concern, as well as the growing belief that the United States must intervene massively to save Saigon from collapse. Kissinger was portrayed by his associates as fearing that the ARVN [Army of the Republic of Vietnam] could not hold its own."

It was in this context, Szulc says, that "Nixon dispatched Kissinger to the Soviet capital to explore the situation with Brezhnev, and to enlist his support for convincing Hanoi to cease the offensive."

"The Kissinger mission to Moscow on April 20 was shrouded in total secrecy," and it was a success. Brezhnev agreed to transmit Kissinger's secret proposals to Hanoi and urge the Vietnamese to resume negotiations.

"But, meanwhile," Szulc writes, "the military situation in South Vietnam had deteriorated to such a point that Nixon and Kissinger began to plan retaliatory action against North Vietnam. . . ."

In the second week of May Nixon ordered the bombing of North Vietnamese cities and mining the port of Haiphong. Two weeks later he was greeted in Moscow; the Soviet officials wine and dined Richard Nixon as U.S. bombs poured down on the liberation fighters in South Vietnam. Communist parties around the world further helped to derail the antiwar forces with the false promise that Nixon's deals would soon bring peace to Vietnam.

According to Szulc, while Nixon was in Moscow, he listened to three hour-long speeches by the top Kremlin leaders. ". . . even Kosygin confined his protest to the danger of a Soviet ship being hit by American bombs. . . . None of the three Russians suggested that the continuing war in Vietnam was an obstacle to détente."

Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny was dispatched to Hanoi "as soon as possible to convey to the North Vietnamese the views Kissinger had expressed in Moscow."

Christmas bombing

Hanoi shifted its position on Thieu in October 1972, according to Szulc. Now the North Vietnamese negotiators put forward secret plans for a settlement that, at least temporarily, left the Thieu regime in power, with a future, somewhat nebulous, coalition government to be worked out. It was the foothold Washington had been waiting for.

However, Szulc asserts, by December the North Vietnamese began to have some doubts about the settlement, as they saw the U.S. rush \$1-billion worth of military hardware to Thieu to beat the cease-fire deadline. They reportedly proposed changes in the text, one of which was to condition release of American POWs on the release of the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners held by Saigon.

Then in mid-December, Nixon unleashed the horrendous record-breaking bombing of Hanoi. Szulc believes that "the Administration realized that the bombings were not sustainable over an indefinite period, for international as well as domestic reasons. They were, therefore, a short-term proposition." He quotes one U.S. official as saying: "we are bombing them to force them to accept our concessions." Another official view of the reason for the Christmas bombing, says Szulc, was "to inflict the greatest possible damage on North Vietnam so that Thieu would be able to accept the Agreement."

Punishment

Szulc writes: "Evidently, Hanoi felt, early in January, that it had taken all the punishment it could take and proposed the resumption of the negotiations. Ironically, as the United States discovered from intercepted North Vietnamese tactical communications, Hanoi had only a two-day supply of SAM antiaircraft missiles on hand when the bombings stopped."

The Vietnam negotiations are described by Szulc so as to highlight the "brilliance" of Kissinger's lies, manipulations, secret deals. But what the negotiations really reflected was a historical development in which Kissinger's role as an individual counted for little. What the negotiations represented was the thwarting of U.S. imperialism in the world class struggle.

Continued on page 22



BREZHNEV, KISSINGER: Partners in secret diplomacy.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

JUNE 28, 1974

Spinola refuses independence for African colonies

By Caroline Lund

In a major policy speech last week, Portuguese President Spínola came down hard against the demands of African liberation fighters for immediate independence for Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. Instead, he outlined four gradual stages of "decolonization" with no timetable.

"Some young officers protested privately that General Spínola's decolonization program would take generations," wrote *New York Times* reporter Marvine Howe in a June 13 dispatch. "They expressed the conviction that the Portuguese troops in Africa would not go on fighting indefinitely."

And indeed, the *Times* cited "informed military sources" in the Portuguese command in Mozambique as saying troop units had been withdrawn from an area under attack by African guerrillas "because the Portuguese troops there had refused to fight."

The yearning for peace on the part of the Portuguese soldiers was also noted by *Times* reporter Henry Kamm in a dispatch from Angola earlier this month. He says opposition to the war exists among the officers as well as among the large number of conscripts, "whose view of colonialism does not differ from that of young university graduates the world over. . . ."

When a communiqué on cease-fire talks with Guinea-Bissau rebels came over the radio at the Portuguese army headquarters in Santa Eulalia, "silence fell over the officers' dinner table" and "faces grew strained," says Kamm. "The announcement that the talks had been interrupted without a settlement was glumly received by soldiers. . . ." wrote the *Times* reporter.

Soldiers in Lisbon have been ac-

tively opposing the wars as well. The June 15 *Washington Post* cites a report that an unknown number of soldiers have been arrested for participating in demonstrations against the war or for distributing leaflets outside their barracks.

Spínola's speech excluding independence for the colonies was made at a ceremony to swear in his new appointee as governor of Angola, General Silvino Silverio Marques. Marques is a rightist counterinsurgency expert who served as Angolan governor twelve years ago under Salazar.

Commenting on this and other new appointments of rightists, *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca wrote: "It was typical of the general's

[Spínola's] political tactics that while he leaned on the Communist Party to keep the radical left and labor at bay, he was bringing right-wing politicians associated with the former dictatorship into his administration."

Mario Soares, the Socialist party foreign minister in Spínola's government, reportedly threatened to resign over the president's speech, but apparently it was only a threat.

African liberation organizations condemned Spínola's statement. Frelimo Vice-president Marcelino dos Santos declared, "Our attacks will be maintained and even increased until independence is conceded under the sole leadership of Frelimo."

Leaders of the African Party for the

Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands broke off negotiations with the Spínola regime following the general's statement.

Meanwhile, Spínola reportedly held a secret meeting last week with leaders of the Armed Forces Movement, the organization of officers responsible for the April 25 coup. After threatening to resign, Spínola received approval by a majority of the group's political committee "to postpone some of the more idealistic planks of the movement's program."

More specifically, the officers agreed that the government could move to curb freedom of the press and street demonstrations.



Soldiers and sailors demonstrate for peace in Lisbon May Day march

Soldiers appeal: 'Raise a loud outcry' against colonial war

[The following letter was published in the June 7 issue of the mass-circulation Portuguese illustrated magazine *Flama*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

We are taking this means to let you know that almost all of the soldiers and officers in Guinea-Bissau have followed the events that have taken place in our country with an intense feeling of involvement, even though we have often been unaware of many of the facts—the newspapers that do reach us arrive late.

Although we are prevented from participating in all that is going on, we

have seen the great changes that have taken place in such a short time. Therefore we appeal to you for your help, which can be decisive for us at this time.

We do not want our families to forget about us; we want them to realize that they cannot remain silent while their sons, brothers, and husbands are going off to this war, being killed or mutilated in it, and losing the high moral values of our peoples in which you have educated us. You cannot remain silent while we serve out our long terms of duty in a hell of privation, humiliation, and useless sacrifices that cannot be justified.

So, those of our relatives who read this should use every means available to them to demand that the war be ended without delay so that we can return at last to be with them; so that we can see our homes again, where there is love and happiness; so that we can see our friends again, who are now united in a more genuine unity than has ever existed. What we ask you to do is what we expect from you as your sons, brothers, and husbands.

We call on you to join with the mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, and wives of our friends and comrades in our country, in our villages,

our towns, our cities.

We call on you to form committees, to form groups to raise a loud outcry and to demand, together with the glorious Junta de Salvação Nacional and the nearer units of the patriotic armed forces, the immediate end of the war and our immediate return.

Any of our loved ones who read this should call on the Junta de Salvação Nacional (loudly enough to be heard) to withdraw our troops immediately.

With affection and great concern, we end: "The people united will never be defeated."

Soldiers in Guinea-Bissau

Spinola regime continues right turn; reimposes censorship

By Gerry Foley

"A march of the people marked Portugal Day in Lisbon," the June 12 *Diário de Notícias* wrote. "It was all spontaneous and took place in an atmosphere of the loftiest civic spirit."

"Thousands of persons congregated at the site where the march was scheduled to begin, under the statue of the Marquis de Pombal. Long before 4:00 in the afternoon, a dense throng was already spreading through the area, waving the most varied signs, posters, and banners—a few were the flags of political groups but most were the flag of our country. From little paper ones to the biggest ones available, our red and green flags were raised proudly in the refreshing breeze that blew that hot afternoon."

"There was no organization, the route of the march was not defined, no police directed it. None of this was necessary, however, for everything to come off in impeccable order."

It was true that the Dia de Portugal demonstration was not officially called by the government or any political organization. But several days before the event, big professional-looking posters appeared in downtown Lisbon calling on the people to assemble at 4:00 at the head of the Avenida da Liberdade for a march in support of the Armed Forces Movement. The posters were in the colors of the Portuguese flag and showed a soldier with a red flower in the barrel of his gun.

The street vendors, at least, were quick to take the hint. Everywhere they stepped up their hawking of Portuguese national flags, buttonhole decorations in the national colors, and various medals hailing the coup and the armed forces.

But the person or persons who wrote the article on the Dia de Portugal march for the largest Lisbon morning paper, the old semiofficial organ of the Salazarist regime, must have been carried away by their "civic spir-

it," or perhaps nostalgia, if they thought they saw a dense multitude gathered around the statue of the celebrated nineteenth-century statesman that stands at the head of the Avenida da Liberdade.

The crowd that marched down the Avenida that day numbered at most a few thousand, a puny turnout in comparison with the Communist party-controlled May Day march and only two or three times larger than a number of sectarian demonstrations that I had seen the preceding week.

The broad avenue leading to the Praça dos Restauradores and the central square of Rossio was almost empty that day as a Portuguese friend and I walked down it a couple of hundred yards or so behind the "dense throng." We had to hurry because the parade took so short a time to pass that the thoroughfare was reopened to traffic after a few minutes. But except at the very end of the Avenida, a dense central-city area full of cafes, the sidewalks also were almost empty.

Regardless of political considerations, I couldn't understand why the usually congested area was so deserted. I would have expected the most routine event to draw a bigger crowd of holiday strollers. After all, it was a noisy and colorful scene, with nationalist music and stentorian "patriotic" appeals booming out of loudspeakers placed along the avenue.

If the few thousand straggling marchers—including many families who seemed to have just come out for a walk on a warm afternoon down a beautiful shady avenue enlivened with fountains, pools, and statues—were not roused to a "patriotic" fervor, it was not apparently because of any lack of effort by the unseen speakers, whose voices blared out of amplifiers placed somewhere in the lush trees lining the thoroughfare.

"Portugueses! Portugueses!" the speakers boomed, "our heroic soldiers have not died in vain."

I did not see very many signs. Most

were carried, it seemed to me, by the same type of seedy middle-aged men I saw several times around the fringes of "super Communist" Maoist demonstrations in Rossio. They were always red in the face, jumping up and down and screaming at the rare traffic policeman to "do something" to "stop this disgrace." This seemed to be their day, the day for all the frustrated reactionaries who had been lying low since the fall of the Salazarist government. But there did not seem to be so many of them, or perhaps they were a timid breed that will need more encouragement to come out of their holes.

The reporters for *Diário de Notícias* had a sharper eye, apparently, and saw many slogans expressing "patriotic" sentiments—"The army is the guardian of democracy in the African territories"; "Long live the men of the overseas territories"; "Glory to the heroes"; "We will not abandon the Africans"; "Overseas territories, we are with you." The *Diário de Notícias* ran a picture showing a banner that said, "The Tuppas [a derogatory term meaning "terrorist"] are afraid of a plebiscite." Most of the signs I saw being carried by the familiar down-at-the-heel petty-bourgeois types took up the theme of Spinola's recent speeches: "Democracy does not mean anarchy."

The *Diário de Notícias* reporter or reporters also saw many Africans participating in the "patriotic" festival in the Largo de Camões, a square not far from the foot of the Avenida da Liberdade that is named for the poet of the Portuguese expansion. "In the lawn that surrounds the statue of our greatest bard, the words of the tenth verse of the first Canto of the Lusiads were spelled out in red carnations," the *Diário de Notícias* pointed out. "You will see love of the fatherland, motivated not by thought of vulgar reward, but lofty and virtually eternal."

The *Diário de Notícias* report did mention that the "civic spirit" of the march was not shared by all those present: "A famous democrat . . . Dr. Armindo Rodrigues, stepped out of the crowd to declaim a few verses written by him to exalt the revolution of April 25 and hail the liberties won."

"The multitude acclaimed him for a long period, and a little later did not permit two youths, who claimed to be university students and leaders of a political movement, to speak and call the demonstration reactionary."

"It was at that point that Major Roberto Durão got up to announce that he had written a message to send to the president of the republic, who was then in Belém. He read:

"On this festive occasion, the Dia de Portugal, the Portuguese armed forces and the Portuguese people are gathered together to seal their complete unity in an embrace of total confidence and solidarity that can never be broken."

But if there were not many "Portuguese people," at this "spontaneous" demonstration, there seemed to be even fewer "armed forces." I asked my friend why the government didn't bring out some military units to swell the "patriotic" outpouring. He explained that no one could order the soldiers to do anything these days and that the officers despaired of being able to impose their authority.

Nonetheless, the failure of the "spontaneous" demonstration of support for the military regime did not halt the right-wing turn Spinola began late in May.

On the day of the "spontaneous" patriotic demonstration, the military of-

ficial overseeing the national television network ordered a program cut off the air because it "offended the sensibilities of many Portuguese." It was a play satirizing the Catholic church's collaboration with the Salazarist regime. Television workers occupied the studios in protest against this censorship. But the Communist party labor apparatus kept them from getting the support of the unions and left them isolated.

On June 15, the government took control of the television network and announced that it would establish press censorship:

"Now, a commission of seven members of the armed forces will supervise the press," the *New York Times* reported June 16. "It will have powers to levy fines for disclosure of military secrets as well as for statements offending the Portuguese chief of state

25,000 postal workers strike

Portugal's 25,000 postal workers went out on strike throughout the country June 17 in defiance of government appeals for an end to strikes. The workers are demanding higher pay.

Fearing that the strike could spread to other public employees, the Spinola regime threatened to conscript the strikers into the army to force them to go back to work.

The June 18 *New York Times* reported that "in denouncing the postal strike today, an official statement said measured to regulate the right to strike, a right that had not existed for 50 years up to April 25 [the date of the Spinola coup], would come into force shortly."

or foreign chiefs of state and diplomats."

The reporter commented: ". . . high Government sources made it clear that the freewheeling and somewhat anarchic days that followed the military coup of April 25 are over and that an effort to instill discipline is under way."

It is not surprising that after forty-eight years of chauvinist drum-beating and an ever more dreary reality, the "patriotic" and "anti-extremist" rhetoric of the Junta of National Salvation has not stirred much of a chord in the masses. The question is why the junta apparently thinks that it can clamp the lid back on so soon after arousing hopes for a new era of democracy among the people.

The main reason for this is probably the role the Communist party has played. It managed to keep the May 1 demonstration celebrating the fall of Salazarism within the framework of support for the junta and give it a nationalist tone. It has managed to break the momentum of the strike wave that followed the momentary collapse of the repressive apparatus. It has thrown all its resources into a campaign—paralleling Spinola's own—against "extremists" and "undisciplined elements." And finally the CP has been just as enthusiastically "patriotic" as the junta, so much so that it was not surprising, although the Communist party did not participate in the June 10 demonstration, to see a big red CP banner with a hammer and sickle and the initials of the party in the middle of the reactionary march. Some "disciplined" CP militant must have loyally followed the logic of his party's propaganda.



'The army is the guardian of democracy in the African territories,' was slogan at right-wing, colonialist demonstration in Lisbon.

Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties: guardians of capitalism

By Hugo Blanco

Lisbon

Portuguese capitalism was committing suicide with the Caetano regime. As a result, the armed forces had to overthrow it as the best way to save the system.

However, they could not prevent the masses from launching a struggle to achieve their most urgent demands. The military government preferred not to resort to violent repression. They preferred, instead, to use the Socialist party and, above all, the Communist party to restrain the masses.

The CP is devoting all its energy to carrying out that task. CP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal is one of the ministers without portfolio. Another Communist, Avelino Gonçalves, is minister of labor. Unfortunately, the *Intersindical*, the embryo of a trade-union federation, is also in the hands of this party and is its main instrument for braking the struggles.

In an interview published June 4, Gonçalves made some very telling statements:

"Ideological homogeneity in the government would not serve the national interest better than the differentiations that characterize the provisional government at this time. The fundamental thing was to establish a new governmental coalition that would win the confidence of the great majority of the Portuguese people."

This means that it is better to have a bourgeois government where the CP acts to "win the confidence" of the workers, than a socialist government with "ideological homogeneity."

When asked about the "points of tension" between his ministry and the Ministry of Economic Coordination, Gonçalves answered:

"It would not be correct to speak of points of tension among the ministries. There does exist a serious contradiction between the level of the just demands of the workers and the degree to which it is possible to satisfy them. To overcome this contradiction, a close collaboration between the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Economic Coordination is necessary. This collaboration must be tied to a clear unity of objectives among the ministries and to a strong popular support. I would say that if 'tensions' exist, they are the road along which a common effort at national recovery must pass."

Who is this minister of the economy with whom a "close collaboration" is necessary within a "clear unity of objectives" and with whom "a common effort at national recovery" is to be made?

He is Dr. Vasco Vieira de Almeida, who has successively been underdirector, general director, and administrator of the Banco Português do Atlân-

tico [Portuguese Bank of the Atlantic]; administrator of the Sociedade Anónima Concessionária da Refinação de Petróleos em Portugal [Portuguese Petroleum Refining Corporation, Inc.]; vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce; head of commer-

ing conditions for all workers. This is the reason why the need for a national minimum wage was posed. It will take the form of a progressive scale starting from a reasonable base, which will begin to function immediately."

When asked why the government was permitting a handful of persons to obtain exorbitant profits in a country where the wages are so low, Gonçalves answered:

"With regard to the exorbitant profits of a tiny minority, well . . . these gains do not have the same economic consequences as the small salaries of the masses."

To the question of whether the new labor law would prohibit firings without justifiable cause, he answered:

"I would not be able to give any categorical guarantees on that. To prohibit firings without justifiable cause is a beautiful aspiration of the workers. But we ought to distinguish punitive firings from simple unjusti-

strikes.

Here are some examples of these strikes, which supposedly favor fascism:

— The workers at the PROPAM yeast factory were demanding the resignation of the current administration for incompetence and abusiveness. They called the *Intersindical*—and the police appeared instead.

— Tannery workers in Oporto also asked for the dismissal of some administrators linked to the previous regime.

— The workers at the Manuel Gonçalves textile plant asked for wage increases and fringe benefits. They explained that "management cannot and should not complain about a lack of financial resources. Not only because this is the largest factory of its type in the country, but also because last year they ended up with a profit of close to 200 million escudos."

— FIAT reported to its workers that the rejection of their request was in



'Fight for a minimum wage,' reads banner on May Day march in Lisbon.

cial missions to Japan and Brazil; author of various articles published in the *Financial Times*, the *American Banker*, etc.; administrator of the Sociedade Nacional de Petróleos SARL [National Association of Petroleum SARL]; vice-president of the administrative council of the Banque Franco-Portugaise d'Outre-Mer [Franco-Portuguese Overseas Bank]; administrator of the Lissabon Bank A.G. [Lisbon Bank, Inc.]; and president of the Crédito Predial Português [Portuguese Real Estate Credit Association].

As is clear, this gentleman did not do so badly during the previous regime. But now he is serving his class better from the Ministry of Economic Coordination.

Gonçalves, who was a bank employee and union leader during the previous regime, is now serving his bosses' interests better.

We should not find it strange that the minimum wage (3,300 escudos [about US\$150] a month, which is not applicable to rural and domestic workers) does not satisfy the needs of the workers. The minister of labor explains it to us as a function of the interests that granted the increase:

"You must not forget what economic system and conjunctural context these measures are part of. In the very logic of the capitalist economic system, starvation wages end up causing serious disturbances sooner or later. Any economic breakthrough necessitates the eradication of starvation and the establishment of minimal liv-

fied firings. Any law that is not adapted to the social realities always runs the risk of not being carried out."

Lest it appear that these are personal positions of the minister of labor, the Communist party editorialized in its paper, *Avante*:

"The Communist party has already made its position clear on the previously mentioned events [strikes]. The Communist party does not have two political lines—one inside the provisional government in which it participates in its own right, and another outside it."

And later on: "The task of the provisional government is not easy. The steps that it has energetically taken up to now are an important factor in cleaning up the political, social, and economic scene. But now the workers have the floor. They have to prove their political maturity and their sense of responsibility."

The slogan of the Communist party is, "Against anarchistic strikes that favor fascism."

And what are these strikes that "favor fascism"? Strikes in which the workers fight for their most elementary demands, which they could not do for forty-eight years. Strikes demanding the kicking out of the servile bosses of the former regime, who are now venting their anger on the workers. It is clear that those who "favor fascism" are not the rank-and-file workers, but those who put a brake on, and fight against, their

compliance with the directives of the Ministry of Labor, the Council of Ministers, and the *Intersindical*.

Finally, on the colonial question, the slogan of the CP is not to demand an end to colonialism, or anything like that. They call for "a political solution," which does not rule out the continuation of colonialism.

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New violence hits opponents of Peron's 'social pact'

By Judy White

"What are we going to do about these deaths?"

"Unity in action against the repression," the crowd roared out, in answer to the question from Eduardo Pimentel, leader of the Partido Revolucionario Cristiano (PRC — Christian Revolutionary party).

The scene was the funeral for the three slain members of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) in Buenos Aires June 1. All three were rank-and-file unionists, well known for their leading role in fighting for a class-struggle tendency in the labor movement.

The echo was still ringing when Argentine President Juan Domingo Perón made a new attack on those opposing his antilabor Social Pact and associated legislation.

On June 12 the general addressed the country. He threatened to resign unless the "traitors to the homeland" were dealt with. "Anyone who shares the concerns and ends that we are pursuing cannot be a mute witness to the events, but must be an active and diligent protagonist in defense of the interests common to the Argentine people," he said in conclusion.

It was an open incitement to his right wing to take matters into their own hands against "irresponsible minorities . . . [that are] sabotaging the National Reconstruction."

"Everyone who signed that pact also knew they were going to give up some of their aims, as a contribution to the process of national liberation," said Perón. "However, a few months after taking on this key commitment for the country, it would appear that some signers of the Great Contract [Social Pact] are pledged not to carry out the agreement, and they want to drag all of us along to do the same."

Perón's stalwart supporters in the trade-union bureaucracy responded in what Jonathan Kandell, reporting on the events for the *New York Times*, described in his June 12 story from Buenos Aires as an apparently "previously planned gesture."

The CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) announced a general strike and mass rally in support of the president as soon as he had finished his morning speech. Over 50,000 attended the rally held barely six hours after Perón threatened to resign from office, according to the *New York Times*. Despite his complaints about the "great personal sacrifice" he had made when he accepted the presidency, the general agreed to stay on.

In his analysis of the general's speech, Kandell rightly drew the conclusion, "When the President went on the air, it appeared that he had been moved to make his resignation threat by the rising controversy surrounding the Government's wage and price freeze."

Kandell went on to explain: ". . . increasingly in recent months, the wage-price pact has threatened to collapse under a wave of strikes, shortages and complaints from businessmen that the controls are driving them to the edge of bankruptcy."

"The trade union movement, which has formed the backbone of General Perón's support, has been shaken by work stoppages by dissident unionists

demanding wage increases far above the levels set by Government policy."

(Perón recently granted a 13 percent wage increase as part of the Social Pact, but prices are expected to rise 24 percent by the end of the year.)

Terror Against Opponents

The PST commented on the ramifications of the regime's dilemma in the June 4 issue of their weekly, *Avanzada Socialista*:

"The bureaucracy sees that its privileges are becoming endangered, because it is losing union elections, control of the Comisiones Internas [plant committees], and because it cannot slow down strikes.

"That is the cause of their desperation. That is why they use those methods. Getting more desperate all the time, they go out to kill anyone who opposes them."

The biggest response to attacks on worker militants to date came after the three PST activists were tortured

and ordered the JSA members to drop posters they had been carrying and to move on. *Avanzada Socialista*, reporting the incident, noted that the thugs stayed on, chatting with the police.

On the evening of May 30, eight armed individuals kidnapped three PST members in Lanús. They threatened, "We already killed three of you and now there are going to be six." The victims were beaten, blindfolded, and taken to a house where the abuse continued for about an hour before they were released. The goons identified themselves as being "from the administration" and "from the Lanús police."

Similar attacks have been made against left Peronists and others. On May 11, leftist Peronist priest Carlos Mujica was gunned down as he left a church where he had just performed a mass. He died a short time later. A friend who was with him was seriously wounded.

A few hours before the opening of the Tenth National Congress of the

29 rally in Córdoba commemorating the 1969 semi-insurrection in that city.

PST Campaign

At the funeral for the slain PST members, the party spelled out the next steps necessary to protect the workers' and left movements against this violence.

Party leaders Juan Carlos Coral and Nahuel Moreno summed it up:

"... if there is no concrete result within fifteen or thirty days from the promised investigation of these terrorist activities, we will consider ourselves notified of the complicity of the government with the right-wing gangs of assassins," said Coral. "In these days of back-room pacts, secret agreements, hand-to-hand fighting, and conspiracies, we call for the formation of a Pact of Unity in Action for the defense of civil liberties. And as for General Perón, who seems to be involved in so many pacts against the workers and the people, we also call on him to take a clear stand in support of this



Part of funeral march for three PST members tortured and slain by rightist goons serving Peronist union bureaucracy

and shot in northern Buenos Aires at the end of May.

However, the six weeks since Perón made his first open attack on his left wing (for not appreciating "everything we have done") have been marked by a generalized step-up in the wave of violence.

The PST itself suffered a series of attacks and threats in addition to the assassination of four of its members:

At dawn May 29 a powerful bomb exploded at the Córdoba party headquarters, doing severe damage to it and to the neighboring premises.

In Mar del Plata, two PST members were shot in separate incidents, and the party headquarters was bombed on May 28 and 29.

Three members of the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—Vanguard Socialist Youth, the youth group in political solidarity with the PST), who were on their way to their offices, were stopped on a Buenos Aires street by four individuals May 29. "We killed three of them and they still feel like screwing around," the attackers shouted. While the youth were being threatened and insulted, a police car pulled up

Federación Juvenil Comunista (FJC—Communist Youth Federation) the first week of June, one of its members, Rubén Poggione, was slain in northern Buenos Aires. He had been putting up posters for the congress at the time. Another FJC member with him was seriously wounded in the assault.

The residence of a Communist doctor and two of the party's headquarters had been bombed the previous weekend.

Also reported were:

—An estimated fifty attacks on offices of left Peronist groups and their sympathizers during April and May.

—Death threats against leaders of the Frente de Izquierda Popular (People's Left Front) and the PRC, two petty-bourgeois parties outside the Peronist movement. The threat against federal Deputy Horacio Sueldo of the PRC came after he had been spearheading a campaign in the legislature to denounce the torture of arrested left Peronists.

—Arrests of 250 demonstrators, who were demanding the release of political prisoners, at Villa Devoto prison May 25.

—Arrests of sixty persons at a May

action, which we must take without delay to ensure democratic rights. Finally, we demand the formation of a parliamentary commission, with the power to arrest and interrogate. This commission must have the support of all organizations under attack by fascist terrorism and of all sectors of the labor movement that have suffered the violence of the bureaucracy's gangsterism."

Speaking for the executive committee of the PST, Moreno stressed the need to form worker and antifascist people's brigades and pickets to defend the movement against continuing attacks.

The PST's call for a united front on this issue has received an unprecedented breadth of support. *Avanzada Socialista* quoted the positive reactions to the proposal from spokesmen of the Bloque de Base and Peronismo de Base (left Peronist formations), Pharmaceutical Workers Union, Lista Marrón Metalúrgica from Villa Constitución (a class-struggle tendency in the metalworkers union), UDELPA (Unión del Pueblo Adelante—People's Movement for Progress), Partido Intransigente (Intransigent party), and the Communist party.

Five prominent Iranian writers imprisoned on secret charges

From Intercontinental Press

[The following information was released by the U.S.-based Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) on June 7.]

Less than three months after the executions of two dissident intellectuals, Khosrow Golsorkhi and Karamat Daneshian (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 4, p. 239), reports from Iran have disclosed that the shah has imprisoned five prominent Iranian writers: Dr. Ali Shariati, Nemat Mirzazadeh (M. Azarm), Fereydoon Tonkaboni, Hooshang Golshiri, and Fereydoon Tavalloli.

The arrests were carried out by SAVAK, the shah's secret police, without any legal proceedings and under a cover of complete official silence.

CAIFI has demanded that the Iranian government make public the charges against the five, release them from jail, and stop the victimization of Iranian intellectuals and artists.

The committee appealed to those concerned about intellectual freedom to send letters of protest to the Iranian Embassy in their country.

Mohammad B. Falsafi, a spokesperson for the committee, commented in issuing the statement: "The arrests of these five are part of a continuing chain of repression against artists and intellectuals by the shah. As the cover article in the June 2 Sunday *New York Times Magazine* observed, 'trials, executions and mysterious disappearances seem to continue. At least 75 people have been executed for [so-called] subversive activities in the past



Militant/Steve Beck

Iranian students picket in New York. Masks are to protect identity of activists from shah's agents.

18 months alone.' The same article put the number of political prisoners at between 25,000 and 45,000."

Ali Shariati, a doctor of philosophy and university professor, is the best known of the five. He has been in jail more than nine months. He taught sociology, the history of theology, and Islamic philosophy at Ferdosi University in Mashhad. Shariati is the author of more than twenty books, including *Humanity and Islam*, *Martyrdom*, and *Fatima*. He is especially renowned for his theological studies at Hossiniyeh Ershad, a theological school in Tehran.

Nemat Mirzazadeh (M. Azarm) is a poet from Mashhad, whose works include *Sahorri*, a collection of con-

temporary poetry. He was arrested once before, in 1971.

Fereydoon Tonkaboni, a contemporary writer and high-school teacher, is author of *Man in a Cage*, *Prisoner of the Soil*, *A Chess Pawn*, *Stars of a Dark Night*, and *Notes of a Turbulent City*. He was imprisoned in 1970 for publishing the last of these in violation of censorship rules.

Hooshang Golshiri, from Isfahan and imprisoned there, is author of *As Always* and *Shazdeh Ehtejaab*. Fereydoon Tavalloli, the most recently arrested of the five, is a very well known poet. The apparent reason for his arrest is a poem he wrote on the occasion of the execution of Khosrow Golsorkhi in February of this year.

Expose Iranian secret police spying on students in Britain

From Intercontinental Press

A London newspaper has exposed a small corner of the spying operations abroad by SAVAK, the Iranian secret political police. In its May 12 issue, the *Sunday Times* described the efforts of a SAVAK agent, operating out of the Iranian consulate in London, to recruit an Iranian-born British citizen to spy on Iranian students in Britain.

The agent is Abdol Ali Jahanbin, a first secretary in the consulate. His would-be recruit was Eli Povey, whose husband, Terry Povey, is a member of the executive of the National Union of Students (NUS).

Until recently Eli Povey worked in the London office of the National Iranian Oil Company. Last December, she was told that the main office in Teheran wanted to talk with her about a possible promotion. The company paid all the expenses of her flight there.

Once in Teheran, Povey was instead interviewed several times by the shah's political police.

"The first interview was over quickly," reported the *Sunday Times*, "but just before it had ended the SAVAK agent asked about a holiday the Poveys had taken in Iran that summer. As Mrs Povey began to name a few places they had visited, the agent interrupted. 'You also went to Kermanshah,' he said, 'to stay with your cousins and you went to the Caspian Sea with your father. You also visited Shiraz and stayed with your uncle.' This was disconcerting: the Poveys had dropped in on the uncle without

any warning. SAVAK, it seemed, had been keeping a very close watch."

The agents concluded their last interview with Povey with an unobtrusive reminder that they could easily retaliate against her family if she failed to cooperate. "Are you afraid of me?" one agent asked her. "What about SAVAK, aren't you afraid of SAVAK . . . haven't you heard that SAVAK



SHAH: His terror extends to Iranians living abroad.

tortures, imprisons, kills people?"

After her return to London, Povey was contacted and told to meet a man, who turned out to be Jahanbin, in a pub on May 2. Povey carried a hidden tape recorder to the meeting, and photographers of the *Sunday Times* photographed it, unknown to Jahanbin.

Jahanbin introduced himself, using the pseudonym Ali Bahrami. He assured Povey she would be well rewarded if she agreed to go on SAVAK's payroll: "I am a very powerful man, in a good position to help you. . . . If you work for me, I'll pay you myself."

"Ali" then outlined what he wanted from Mrs Povey, the *Sunday Times* reported. "He was particularly interested in the Confederation of Iranian Students. . . . Membership of the Confederation is an offence in Iran, bringing three to 10 years in jail."

"The diplomat knew that members of the Confederation sometimes visited the Povey's home. . . ."

"Ali" asked her to collect information about 'the students' discussions, their plans, the time and place of their plans. . . . The previous day, he pointed out, had been May Day. 'If you could tell me which students attended demonstrations, then if I say, for instance, Mr [name deleted] was there, he can never deny it.'"

Jahanbin said he was particularly interested in one student activist, Ahmad Ghotbi: "If Ghotbi ever comes to your home and talks about politics, you come and tell me."

Pittsburgh Teamsters victimized for strike

By BRETT MERKEY

PITTSBURGH—When union officials attempt to protect their members by stabbing some other group of workers in the back, the results may quickly come back to haunt them and weaken the union. Two recent events here are an alarming indication of this.

On June 10 a U.S. district court judge here awarded Eazor Express Company \$512,000 in damages against two Teamster locals and the international union.

The assessment of damages was based on the judge's earlier ruling that the international union, along with Local 249 in Pittsburgh and Local 377 in Youngstown, Ohio, were liable for Eazor's losses from a 1968 wildcat strike because they did not use their "arsenal of available means to halt the strike."

The assessment against the Teamsters flies in the face of the grievances against Eazor that led to the 1968 strike and the judge's own findings that the firm "did not comport itself in accordance with the legal standard . . . and failed to exhibit even the modicum of reasonableness necessary for achieving labor peace."

The ruling was unprecedented because the international union was made legally responsible for a local wildcat strike and held jointly liable for the full amount of damages.

Other unions in the area have made no effort to support the Teamsters. Perhaps their lack of understanding or interest in the case can be partially explained by the Teamsters' open strikebreaking during the independent truckers' action last winter. Then, working people in the city were treated to the televised spectacle of Local 249 goon squads attacking striking truckers' picket lines.

The growing isolation of the Teamsters was dramatically revealed June 12 when 1,200 auto workers crossed Teamster picket lines at the General Motors Fisher Body plant near Pittsburgh.

Twenty cafeteria employees, members of Teamster Local 205, went on strike June 5 when their previous contract with the Prophet Food Company expired.

The auto workers, members of United Auto Workers Local 544, began observing the Teamster picket line at the plant June 10 when the cafeteria workers massed at the plant entrance. The plant was completely shut down. This natural act of solidarity greatly strengthened the bargaining position of the cafeteria workers.

But the next day UAW President Leonard Woodcock ordered all Local 544 members back to work, saying, "The UAW cannot honor the Teamsters picket line at Fisher Body-Pittsburgh because of the provisions of our national agreement with General Motors."

The president of Local 544 said the workers were "happy" to get back to their jobs. That was not the major sentiment of the rank and file, however. Referring to the back-to-work order, one auto worker commented, "Four or five years ago no one would have gotten away with it."

Harrington's 'Fragments of the Century'

Fragments of the Century by Michael Harrington. Saturday Review Press/E.P. Dutton & Company. New York, 1973. 246 pp. Cloth \$7.95.

By Fred Feldman

The main value of this book lies in its graphic, though unintentional, portrayal of the bankruptcy of trying to transform capitalism by piecemeal reforms and supporting capitalist politicians.

Fragments of the Century is the autobiography of Michael Harrington, former cochairman of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation (now called Social Democrats, USA—SDUSA). The book concludes with Harrington's split from the SDUSA and the initiation of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in February 1973.

The split was sparked by a conflict over whether to support Nixon or McGovern in the 1972 elections. The spectacle of "socialists" squabbling over which capitalist politician to support becomes more comprehensible, if not more palatable, when Harrington's political development, traced in this book, is studied.

Bureaucratic collectivism

Harrington's mentor in politics was the late Max Shachtman. Harrington joined the Independent Socialist League, led by Shachtman, in the 1950s. This organization soon dissolved into the reformist Socialist Party.

For almost a decade, Shachtman and Harrington worked closely together as part of the right wing of this organization. It was from Shachtman

Books

that Harrington learned the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism," one of the main foundations of his rejection of the revolutionary road to social change in favor of class collaboration.

This theory was first put forward by James Burnham on the eve of World War II in a factional struggle within the Socialist Workers Party. Shachtman and Burnham were central leaders of a minority faction, which later split from the organization. Their views were in opposition to those of Leon Trotsky and the majority of the SWP.

Burnham, and later Shachtman, held that Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union represented the rise of a new "ruling class" and that Soviet



HARRINGTON: Autobiography shows bankruptcy of reformist politics.



Residential quarter of Haiphong after U.S. bombing raid in 1972. Social Democrats backed U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

society no longer had any basic features that represented an advance over capitalism. They opposed defending the Soviet Union against attempts by the imperialists—as in World War II—to restore capitalism.

Trotsky argued against this capitulation to bourgeois pressure. Marxists must defend the progressive planned economy of the Soviet Union against attempts at capitalist restoration, he said, while fighting for the removal of the bureaucracy and establishing workers democracy.

Trotsky went on to say that it was impossible to reform the Stalinist bureaucracy from within. He called for a political revolution in which the workers and peasants would overthrow the bureaucracy and restore proletarian democracy, while preserving the surviving conquests of the Russian revolution.

In addition, Trotsky predicted that the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism" would lead its supporters to become apologists for the capitalist ruling class in the "democratic" United States. Within a few years, Burnham was openly defending the capitalist system and beating the drums for a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

Shachtman continued to call himself a socialist, but his theory of "bureaucratic collectivism" made him a bitter opponent of the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban revolutions. This brought his views ever closer to those of the U.S. State Department.

By the time of his death in 1972, Shachtman had defended Nixon's terror-bombing of Vietnam and "critically" supported the Thieu regime as a "more democratic" alternative to the Vietnamese liberation forces.

Reforming capitalism

Harrington and Shachtman, while presenting themselves as irreconcilable opponents of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, had no trouble making their peace with the procapitalist union bureaucrats in the U.S. This privileged, undemocratic, and class-collaborationist layer in the labor movement stifles the revolutionary potential of the U.S. workers in much the same way as the Stalinist bureaucracy stifles the revolutionary potential of the workers in the Soviet Union.

After 1958, Harrington writes, he and Shachtman gave up the "brave and stupid" Marxist idea that both capitalist parties must be opposed and that the procapitalist labor leaders were "timid bureaucrats who dammed and diverted the energy of the rank and file." Instead, they decided "to in-

volve ourselves with the leaders elected by the American workers themselves. . . ."

Harrington decided that independent working-class political action was undesirable and unnecessary because "a labor party was already in existence, although because of the perversities of American history and political structure it was concealed within the Democratic party."

The "labor party" inside the party of James Eastland, Edward Kennedy, George Wallace, and Hubert Humphrey is well-concealed indeed. It is this "concealed" labor party—the capitalist Democratic Party in short—that Harrington has devoted his subsequent political activity to defending.

Harrington and Vietnam

In his book, Harrington waxes enthusiastic over the election of Lyndon Johnson in 1964, although by then Johnson had already carried out the first bombings of North Vietnam: "The landslide of 1964 had elected the most liberal Congress within a generation. With an activist President still under the spell of his New Deal youth, the stage was set for the most hopeful period of reform since the days of Franklin Roosevelt." In fact, as Harrington is well aware, the plans for a full-scale war in Indochina had already been made and approved by Johnson.

The weakening of the "beloved community"—Harrington's idyllic name for the liberal-labor-Black coalition inside the Democratic Party—as a result of the war is, for Harrington, the great tragedy of the 1960s. The Vietnam war, escalated and defended for nearly a decade by the leaders of Harrington's secret "labor party," is presented as an unfortunate mistake.

It is in this period that differences began to develop between Harrington and Shachtman, both by then top leaders of the Socialist Party. Both gave top priority to preserving the liberal-labor coalition. Both opposed those who "refused to take into account the political intricacies of an American withdrawal from Indochina," as Harrington put it.

But while Shachtman gave all-out support to Johnson's war policy, Harrington sought to save the Democratic Party coalition by an alliance with capitalist "peace" candidates.

This difference, in part, reflected different allegiances Shachtman and Harrington had developed within the union bureaucracy—in their view, the ordained representatives of the American workers.

Shachtman drew closer to AFL-CIO head George Meany, while Harrington came to view late UAW head Walter Reuther and his circle as a more "progressive" force.

Harrington's resignation in October 1972 as cochairman of the Socialist Party was not provoked by the SP's support of the war in Vietnam. The breaking point came when a majority of the social democratic leaders—with the support of a dying Max Shachtman—backed George Meany's policy of backhandedly aiding Nixon's re-election campaign.

Backs McGovern

Harrington favored sticking with social democratic "tradition" by supporting the Democratic Party candidate, George McGovern.

The split came soon after the election. Leading social democrats helped organize the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a formation that set out to rebuild the old liberal-labor-Democratic coalition by cracking down on the "new politics" wing that has supported McGovern. These forces are now lining up support for Senator Henry Jackson, Meany's favored candidate for president in 1976.

Harrington, supported by critics of Meany within the union officialdom, favored a stronger effort to draw discontented youth—most of whom had backed McGovern—into the Democratic Party machine. He sadly admits that for many of these youth the "most characteristic form of expression was the mass demonstration. . . ."

But these young people have their uses also: ". . . the education which these militants had received made them particularly adept at registering voters, canvassing, and other traditional political arts."

Thus radicals who are attracted by Harrington's "socialist" pretensions will be used as leg-workers for a Kennedy or a Mondale—or a Henry Jackson, should he get the Democratic nod.

In the face of bipartisan attacks on the living standards of workers; in the face of bipartisan imperialist policies in the Middle East and Southeast Asia; in the face of the exposure of the corruption that underlies all capitalist politics by the Watergate revelations; Harrington, like a kind of political sky-pilot, asks the discontented to keep their eyes on the Promised Land, the invisible "labor party" in the Democratic Party. In the name of socialism, Harrington argues for giving decayed capitalism another chance.

Massacre of Colorado miners

60th anniversary of 'Bloody Ludlow'

This year marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Ludlow massacre, in which 21 Colorado miners, their wives, and children were brutally murdered by government troops and company goon squads.

The following account of the massacre is based on a speech given April 27 by Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado.

A rally to commemorate the massacre victims was held June 2 in Ludlow, Colo. Three hundred attended, many of them members of the United Mine Workers. UMW President Arnold Miller was one of the speakers.

The rulers of this country seek to erase the true history of the American labor movement. They paint the development of this country as a history of the blossoming of *their* fortunes and the comings and goings of *their* politicians.

For socialists, however, the real makers of history are not the ruling rich but the working men and women who produce the wealth of this society. For us, people like Big Bill Haywood, Mother Jones, and Eugene V. Debs symbolize the fighting spirit of labor. We are proud to look to people like these as our heroes.

In Colorado, the Ludlow miners symbolize the best in the history of labor. Their struggle developed at the time when the great fortunes of the ruling class were still being built. Among the vilest, greediest of the capitalists was John D. Rockefeller Jr., who controlled the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

Company towns

Nearly 30,000 people lived in the company-owned mining camps of southern Colorado in the early part of this century, under conditions the miners described as "monopolistic feudalism."



Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado.

The workers were required to live in company-owned houses. A company preacher described these hovels this way: "The CF&I Co. now own and rent hovels, shacks, and dugouts that are unfit for the habitation of human beings and are little removed from the pigsty make of dwellings."

The stores, schools, and churches were owned by the coal companies, too. The only recreation was company-owned saloons. Miners who refused to trade at the company store were brutalized or "sent down the canyon," which meant losing their jobs, their homes, and their right to live in the town.

Health conditions in the camps were abominable. Garbage was heaped in the streets, and often the drinking water was pumped directly from the mines without filtration. In 1912-1913, 151 cases of typhoid were reported in the coal camps owned by Colorado Fuel and Iron.

The miners were paid an average of \$1.60 a day for 12 to 14 hours of work. They were paid by the ton of coal produced, which was measured by a check-weighman hired by the company. The workers complained that the company usually got about 3,800 pounds in every "ton" weighed out.

It was difficult to fight back, because the rights of free speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press were systematically denied the miners.

These were the conditions the miners had faced since the 1880s, when the development of the coal industry in southern Colorado began. There had been strikes in 1883, 1893, and 1903, but they were quickly crushed by armed guards, the im-



Charred remains of Ludlow miners' tent colony after murderous 1914 attack on strikers and their families

portation of scabs, and the expulsion of strikers from the camps.

But each new group of strikebreakers, unable to tolerate the conditions, soon became the ranks for the next strike. By 1913, the strikebreakers of 1903 decided they had had enough. The United Mine Workers (UMW) began sending organizers in to build a union.

Because of the elaborate espionage and intimidation system of the coal bosses, much of the organizing had to be done secretly. In many cases, the miners who joined the union were not known to each other. The union organizers were in constant danger for their lives.

In spite of this, the union grew and grew, as did the possibility of a strike, because the coal operators refused to recognize the union or grant any of the miners' other demands.

Many of these demands were already part of Colorado law, such as the eight-hour day, the right of miners to elect their own check-weighmen, and the right to trade at stores besides the company store. But the coal companies refused to obey these laws.

On Sept. 23, 1913, 9,000 miners laid down their tools and marched down the canyons through a driving snow storm with their families and meager belongings. They set up tents where they would live for the duration of the strike.

The National Guard was sent in and martial law was declared. Then on April 20, 1914, as the strikers at Ludlow, the largest of the tent colonies, lined up to collect strike benefits, the Ludlow massacre began.

First the militiamen exploded two dynamite bombs. Then rifle and machine-gun fire rained on the camp. Hundreds of women and children ran to seek shelter in the hills, but scores who couldn't escape in time hid in the pits below the tents. Four people were killed in the gun battle, which lasted 12 hours.

Then the militiamen poured coal oil on the tents and set them afire, trapping many of those who had hidden in the pits below. In one pit, 11 children and two women were killed. Twenty-one miners, their wives, and children were massacred in all.

Rockefeller's 'principle'

How did John Rockefeller react to the work of his goons and the militia? Here's how he answered questions about the massacre at congressional hearings on Ludlow that year:

Q: "You are willing to let these killings take place rather than to go there and do something to settle conditions?"

Rockefeller: "There is just one thing that can be done to settle this strike, and that is to unionize the camps, and our interest in labor is so profound and we believe so sincerely that that interest demands that the camps shall be open [i.e., nonunion] camps, that we expect to stand by the officers at any cost. It is not an accident that this is our position."

Q: "And you will do that if that costs all your

property and kills all your employees?"

Rockefeller: "It is a great principle."

But working people around the country reacted with revulsion to the brutality with which Rockefeller upheld his "great principle" of antiunionism. Protests occurred nationwide, and in parts of Colorado, miners and other workers rose up in an armed rebellion.

Colorado Governor Ammons, a Democrat, found that he couldn't rely on the National Guard to suppress the revolt; many of the troops mutinied rather than be sent against the workers. Finally, President Woodrow Wilson, another Democrat, had to send in troops to crush the rebellion.

When the Ludlow miners were finally forced to end their strike eight months later, Rockefeller was able to foist a company union on them.

It would take more battles by the Colorado miners before a genuine union could be won. But the Ludlow martyrs were pioneers in that effort. Today they are for us a courageous example of the fighting spirit in which future chapters in the class struggle will be written.

American Labor Struggles

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES, 1877-1934 by Samuel Yellen. 398 pp. Paper \$3.95.

A classic history of 10 famous confrontations between working people and the owners of the mines, mills, and railroads in this country. Included are chapters on the Ludlow massacre; railroad uprisings of 1877; Haymarket; Homestead lockout; Pullman strike; Anthracite strike of 1902; Lawrence textile strike; steel strike of 1919; Gastonia; and San Francisco general strike of 1934.

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Calendar

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SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. A revolutionary strategy for labor. Tues., June 25: The role of revolutionaries in trade unions; Thurs., June 27: A Marxist view of the labor party; Weds., June 26: Introduction to socialism. All classes at 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: 50 cents per class. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Summer School. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

THE COUP IN PORTUGAL & THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE. Speaker: Bob Bresnahan, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 28, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-3278.

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MILITANT FORUM PRESENTS A CABARET. Readings from radical cultural magazines; Cuban revolutionary poetry; songs from Spanish Civil War, East German dissidents, and the IRA; and a one-act play: *The Independent Female*, or: A Man Has His Pride. Fri., June 28, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

CHRISTOPHER STREET: FIVE YEARS OUT OF THE CLOSET—WHICH WAY FOR THE GAY MOVEMENT? Speakers: Rachele Fruit, Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state; Kathy Kozanchenko, city council member, Ann Arbor, and member, Human Rights Party. Fri., June 28, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

THE NURSES' STRIKE. Speakers: Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., June 28, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRALEAST

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Weds., June 26, 8 p.m. and Sat., June 29, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information or to enroll call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

CAN SOCIAL CHANGE BE MADE THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC & REPUBLICAN PARTIES? Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party 1974 California state campaign director; John Delessio, candidate for Democratic Party nomination for Congress, 27th C.D. Fri., June 28, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK CITY

THE 1974 SAN FRANCISCO CITY STRIKES—THEIR MEANING FOR TODAY'S LABOR STRUGGLES. Speaker: Jeff Maddler, vice-president, Hayward local, American Federation of Teachers. Weds., June 26, 8 p.m. New York Univ. Sommerville Theatre, Rm. 703, Main Bldg. Donation: \$1. Ausp: New York City Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PITTSBURGH

WHY PENNSYLVANIA NEEDS THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN. Speaker: John Teitelbaum, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 14th C.D. Fri., June 28, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

ST. LOUIS

CELEBRATION OF FILING OF PETITIONS FOR BALLOT STATUS. Speakers: Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Stephanie Coontz, associate editor, *International Socialist Review*; Bobby Lee Williams, Cairo United Front. Fri., June 28, 8 p.m. St. Stephens Church (14th & Park). Donation: \$1. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

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TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Russian revolution. Weds., June 26, 8 p.m. Special class: Labor upsurge in San Francisco. Speaker: Nat Weinstein. Sat., June 29, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

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SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. Black liberation and socialism and The roots of Stalinism. Thurs., June 27, 7:30 p.m.: Independent Black political action; Sun., June 30, 6:30 p.m.: Why Stalinism triumphed. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$3 for entire course; 50 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...NY cop

Continued from page 24

big businesses comprising the Jamaica chamber of commerce, support the suit. The suit, if won, would reopen the case and put Shea on trial again.

More evidence of capitalist "justice" surrounding the Glover case was the announcement the day after Shea's acquittal of the indictment of another white cop for killing a Black college student, John Brabham, for a traffic violation.

A grand jury had handed up the indictment two weeks earlier, but the Brooklyn district attorney declined to announce it, supposedly so as not to "prejudice" the Shea jury.

Morrison has urged that a Black independent investigating committee be established to probe the full facts be-

hind the Glover and Brabham killings and other instances of cop brutality. He also called for removing the New York City police force from the Black community and replacing it with a force drawn from and accountable to Black people.

...Mideast

Continued from page 6

period. . . ."

Unfortunately, it will take more than wishful thinking to undo the imperialist gains Moscow's foreign policy helped make possible. Instead of supporting the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, the Moscow bureaucrats fought to dilute it. They want to force the Palestinians to accept the idea of the partitioning of their homeland, and to abandon the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine.

In pursuit of an agreement with Washington for "peaceful coexistence" in the Middle East—that is, the division of the area into stable spheres of influence—the Kremlin pressured the Arab regimes to seek an accommodation with Israel at the expense of the Palestinians.

By undercutting the Palestinian struggle, the focal point of the left wing throughout the Arab world, the bureaucrats did something the Arab capitalists were unable to do on their own. They prepared the way for Nixon's triumphant tour. Had the Arab peoples found a staunch ally in the Soviet government, the cry of "We Trust Nixon" could never have been raised.

The bureaucrats try to justify their policy of detente by the claim that it will bring peace. But the truth of what it will bring was symbolized by Nixon's new arms promises to Israel and by the increasing penetration of U.S. capital into the Arab East.

Soviet Communist Party head Leonid Brezhnev has promised "good new agreements" at the forthcoming Moscow summit conference. With past experience for a guide, we can say without any doubt that the agreements will be good for U.S. imperialism, and bad for the real interests of the Soviet Union and the world working class.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 18

above all on the battlefields and by the international antiwar movement.

Washington was forced to turn to Moscow, to use the counterrevolutionary foreign policy of the Kremlin. Through secret deals with Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi, the imperialists were able to salvage their main goal from the beginning—a proimperialist government in Saigon, which is still in power 15 months after the "peace" accords.

The information in Szulc's article confirms the correctness of the position taken by *The Militant* on the meaning of the Vietnam accords and the Washington-Moscow-Peking détente. In opposition to both the U.S. Communist Party and the Maoists of the *Guardian* newspaper, *The Militant* called the détente a betrayal of the Vietnamese by the two largest workers states which should have been its allies. And it called the Vietnam accords a violation of the right of Vietnamese to self-determination.

While the Stalinists of both the Moscow and Peking variety were campaigning for Nixon to "Sign Now" the nine-point negotiating position released by the Vietnamese in October 1972, *The Militant* counterposed the demand "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!" In the Jan. 12 and Jan. 19, 1973, issues of *The Militant*, Barry Sheppard wrote:

"The Vietnamese, of course, have the right to negotiate with the imperialist bandits who are conducting a genocidal war in their country.

"But if the American antiwar movement were to call on Nixon to sign the accords negotiated with the Vietnamese, then we would be saying that the U.S. has the right to conduct such negotiations. . . .

"The antiwar movement must expose every fraud and every trick of Kissinger and Nixon, including the concessions they are trying to extract by force from the Vietnamese.

"The most powerful and effective way to fight against the war is to join in building a worldwide movement, united in action, to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from all of Southeast Asia."

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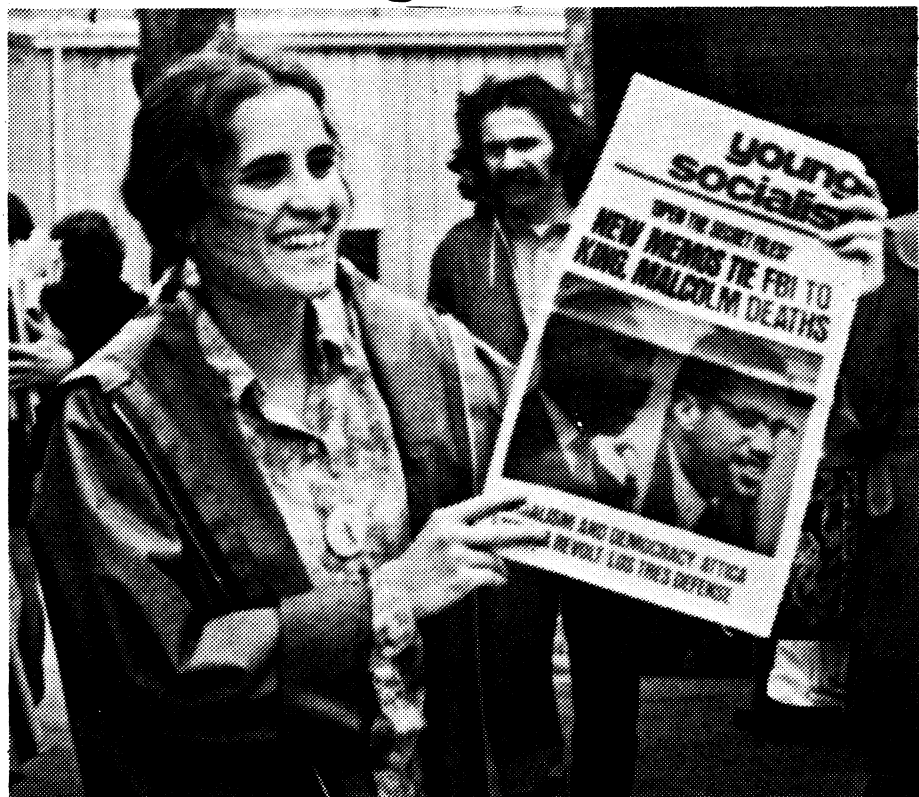
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Northern Calif. nurses unite in militant strike

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO — Hundreds of striking nurses gathered at Union Square here June 13 to publicize the issues in their fight.

Picket signs, many of them hand-painted, read: "Patients deserve better care"; "Better staffing — one night nurse for 38 patients is unsafe"; "Nurses united"; and "Florence [Nightingale] would have said right on."

The nurses, members of the California Nurses' Association (CNA), began their walkout June 7. The strike affects all Kaiser Foundation hospitals and clinics from Sacramento to the Bay Area, as well as 17 other private hospitals. More than 4,400 nurses are on strike and more are joining the walkout every day. Representatives of the CNA say the strike is 90 percent effective.

A leaflet distributed by the strikers listed the following demands:

- "For nurses to decide nursing care."
- "To have *specialized nurses only* working in specialty areas." (Too often, untrained nurses are assigned to units requiring specialized care.)
- "For adequate staffing patterns."
- "For an adequate retirement plan."
- "For all nurses to receive health insurance."
- "For every other weekend off."
- "Cost-of-living salary increases."

Enthusiasm, confidence, and a determination to carry the strike to victory marked the June 13 demonstration. The nurses expressed pride in their newly discovered ability to wage a united fight.

Margaret DelCarlo, from Children's Hospital here, told *The Militant*, "Before, when I got disgusted with working conditions on a job I just quit and moved to another hospital. But now that I am in the CNA, I know it's better to stay and fight for better conditions."

"Most nurses," she continued, "used to grumble in silence or quit and leave the nursing profession, but that's all finished now. Now we stay and fight."

Most speakers at the rally were nurses representing striking hospitals. They stressed that the major issue in this fight is the right of nurses



Nurses' strike rally in San Francisco June 13

Militant/Howard Petrick

to have a say in the care of patients. Increasing demands made by hospital management on the overworked nurses was the chief cause of the walkout.

A nurse from Oakland Kaiser Hospital received a big round of applause when she said the strike "would do more good for the patients than staying in the hospital and putting up with bad conditions."

The Militant interviewed Dotty

Shields, picket organizer at Children's Hospital and one of the rally speakers. Shields said that the women's liberation movement has had an important influence on the strike.

"Women have more confidence in themselves," she said. "Now they stand up for their rights." Other nurses have also noted how the strike has developed leadership abilities among the women, many of whom have never

spoken out before.

Shields described the working conditions the women are protesting: "The nurses work a 40-hour week and many of them must support families. New nurses must work six months on the night shift before applying for the day shift. Also, we now have to work seven days straight before we can get a weekend off."

Asked about public response to the strike, Shields said, "Most people are sympathetic to us, including other workers in the hospital. Many of them wear blue armbands at work to show their support."

The effectiveness of the strike is shown by the fact that surgical cases are down 50 percent and many other patients have been sent home. Negotiations between the hospitals and the nurses have broken off and were not resumed by *Militant* press time.

Shields said that at each hospital a Staff Evaluation Committee made up of strikers meets every day to organize care for critically ill patients. Management at some of the Kaiser hospitals, however, has not allowed nurses to perform this care, an illustration of how phony management's "concern" for the health of the patients is.

Butler White, CNA representative and a negotiator in the strike, told the rally, "Your leadership in this strike is being watched by the whole labor movement." Adding that nurses would not be a part of the "cover-up" of rotten health care, Butler said, "Your fight to make the hospitals a better place will make the whole labor movement proud."

The biggest applause at the rally came when greetings were read from the platform. Messages of solidarity were read from District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees in New York; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees convention in Hawaii; and from the organizing committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) here.

The American Nurses Association (ANA), which is holding its convention in San Francisco, also participated in the rally. The ANA has pledged strike funds and other aid to the nurses.

NY Blacks denounce acquittal of killer cop

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK — Thomas Shea, the first New York City cop to be tried for murder in the course of duty, was acquitted June 12 of the slaying of 10-year-old Clifford Glover of South Jamaica, Queens.

Shea, a white plainclothes cop, shot the Black youth in the back April 28, 1973, while on patrol duty.

Shea claimed to have believed the 5-foot, 2-inch youth and his 51-year-old stepfather, Add Armstead, to be two Black men in their early 20s who had held up a taxicab. Shea told the jury that he leaped out of his car and ordered the pair to halt. Glover, Shea said, then "made a reaching motion and I saw what I believed to be

a revolver" in his hand.

Armstead vehemently denied that either he or Glover had been armed, and the police never turned up the alleged gun. But the jury, composed of 11 whites and one Black, said "there were holes" in Armstead's testimony.

The lone Black juror was apparently pressured into acquitting Shea. She told a *New York Times* reporter, "They almost killed me," referring to the other jurors.

A quick and bitter response met the acquittal.

One Black youth outside the courtroom shouted, "Ask [Shea] if he's going back to work in the same community."

Derrick Morrison, Socialist Work-

ers Party candidate for governor, called the verdict "outrageous."

"Justice has been denied," Morrison said. "The effect of this verdict is to give further sanction to the murder and brutalization of Black people by the New York police department."

Morrison spoke with the dead youth's mother, Eloise Glover, by phone following the acquittal. She told him, "He [Shea] says he was trying to do his job. But does his job authorize him to shoot kids in the back, shoot them down in the street?"

"We don't have any freedom if the cops can shoot us down while on duty and get away with it" Eloise Glover said. "It's because he's white and we are Black that they are taking advan-

tage of us. I want something done about my son."

Later that evening, crowds of Blacks, numbering up to 400, roamed the South Jamaica community stoning passing cop cars.

One hundred Blacks met June 17 in the offices of the Southeast Queens Community Association to map out a boycott of the gigantic Gertz department store in the aftermath of the Shea acquittal.

According to spokeswoman Viola Plummer, steps are under way to file a suit in federal court against Shea for violating the civil rights of Clifford Glover. The demand of the boycott is that Gertz, along with other

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